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EDITORIALS

CAMPAIGN '72

The Heating-Up Phase

If George McGovern had known the facts about Senator Eagleton's hospitalizations for "depression" and "nervous exhaustion" he might well have reached a different decision at Miami. But the facts were not disclosed, even though Eagleton was asked if there were "any problems in his past that were significant or worth discussing." He now lamely says that he did not think the medical records were "relevant" in view of the way the question was put. Indeed one gets the impression that they might not be known now if the Knight newspapers had not unearthed them. McGovern is a kind and understanding man, and his loyalty does him credit, but his decision to stand by Eagleton after the facts were disclosed was pretty much dictated by the circumstances. By then the real decision had already been made. On reflection, Eagleton must now realize that by acting as he did, he not only denied McGovern the chance to exercise his best judgment based on full knowledge of the facts, but placed him in an awkward and embarrassing position. In fairness to George McGovern, his party, and the electorate, Eagleton should withdraw.

Nixon and Agnew will, of course, be most solicitous about Tom's health—until, that is, anything sharply critical of Agnew is said; then "dirty things," in Martha Mitchell's phrase, can be expected. The case against Agnew is based upon aspects of his character and lack of political judgment, firmly established during his term as Vice President and not on a record of past illness; the contrast with Eagleton is clear in logic, but in the heat of a campaign can be easily obscured. As a postscript, McGovern should take a close, hard look at the performance of his senior staff advisers, some of whom had heard rumors of Eagleton's difficulties but failed to report them to McGovern. This gaffe is of a pattern with the way the staff mishandled the Lawrence O'Brien appointment.

* * *

Since Miami the microphone journalists have been seeking out unhappy Democrats and encouraging them to voice their unhappiness about the Democratic ticket. In fact it has seemed at times as if a concerted effort was being made to spread disaffection with the nominee even before McGovern had a chance to mend any fences. Labor bosses, party bosses, Dixiecrats, and assorted soreheads and head-shakers have been urged to explain why "McGovern can't win." Sen. Henry Jackson, for example, has explained at length on prime time television why many Democrats will not support the ticket; but he has not been asked why, if what he says is true, his own candidacy was such a conspicuous failure. In fact this post-convention anti-McGovern chorus has sounded at times like so many "orotund funeral orations" emanating from "a disaster caucus" or "doom watch." Mary McGrory sums it up this way in a recent column: "No way, no chance. Nixon will cream him. McGovern will lose the Jews, the Catholics. Nixon will make peace. McGovern will lose the South, the North, the West, the big states, little states, farm states, industrial states . . . he'll be lucky if he takes Mitchell, South Dakota."

Now to be sure network interviewers cannot always set up a balanced schedule of interviews; to some extent they must take what they can get. And soliciting comments from known opponents of McGovern may have been thought to be the logical first step after the convention. But it is odd that one network could apparently find only two Georgians who had a kind word to say for McGovern: Julian Bond and Howard Romaine, a *Nation* contributor. Or maybe not quite as odd as it seems.

In a recent article in *Variety*, Les Brown, always worth reading on the media, gives a step-by-step account of how the President has brought the networks and station owners into line. Threats—of possible antitrust actions—have alternated with lovingly offered goodies, such as warm reassurances about the sanctity of licenses. Writes Mr. Brown: "Intimidated networks and the foursquare support of a cringing local electronic press should provide a fast track for the President's 1972 campaign. Could this have been the game plan that started with Vice President Agnew's famous speech in Des Moines in November 1969? Will anyone be bellowing about media bias in 1972—that is, on the Republican side?"

Another candidate might have been disconcerted by the media's effort to stimulate opposition in his own party, but not McGovern. On *Face the Nation,* July 23, he was calm, mildly amused, candid, self-assured, shrewd and tactful; from first to last an excellent performance. And he has some reason to be of good cheer. A large constituency—of liberal Republicans, conservative Democrats and independent voters—will be dismayed by Nixon's decision to run again with Spiro Agnew. Agnew dislikes, distrusts, and views with contempt an astonishingly large section of the American public. He has kept a stable of experts in political abuse busy turning out crude, seldom funny, wisecracks about selected targets in the vast audience of those who do not admire him or with whom he disagrees. In leveling these attacks, he has pandered to bias and bigotry. A measure of his political discernment and judgment is that he regards American intervention in Vietnam as a moral response to an "international bandit"; he sees no difference between Hitler and the Nazis and the North Vietnamese. Even as Nixon hesitated, the Detroit *News* urged him to reject Agnew, as did Senators Saxbe and Javits, and *Life* came out with an editorial suggesting that he dump "The Great Divider." If Nixon cannot unite and lead the American people, much less can Spiro. So the Democrats now have two more good issues: Agnew—and his record in office—and Nixon's default of responsibility in selecting him. In tapping Agnew the President has doubled the sense of uneasiness that large sections of the people have long felt about his own qualities as a leader.

* * *

The endorsement of the AFL-CIO would no doubt have been welcomed by McGovern. But George Meany's action in opting for "neutrality" may hurt him more than it will McGovern. Meany has set himself up as a scapegoat regardless of how the election goes. If Nixon wins, Meany will be blamed by the rank and file; if McGovern wins, he will owe Meany exactly nothing. What is one to

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say of a labor leader who, viewing the labor records of Nixon and McGovern, opts for "neutrality"? But just as Frank Fitzsimmons' endorsement does not mean that a majority of the teamsters will vote for Nixon, so Meany's action does not commit the rank and file of the AFL-CIO to "neutrality." In fact, McGovern's assumption that he will receive about three-fourths of the labor vote is probably sound.

* * *

The Watergate case warrants closer scrutiny than it has been receiving. G. Gordon Liddy was quietly removed from his post as counsel to the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President on June 28 although the announcement went unreported for nearly a month. Liddy was dismissed because he refused to answer certain questions put to him by the FBI. Some of these questions had to do with phone calls he had received, at his home and office, from one or more of the "burglars" who raided the Democratic National Committee headquarters. It is now being reported (by Robert Walters in the Washington *Star*) that the FBI has traced approximately $100,000 used to finance the break-in to a "conduit committee established by the finance committee." Donors were assured anonymity and funds were routed to the committee by an unidentified businessman in Mexico. It will be recalled that John Mitchell's resignation came two days after Liddy's ouster. The reason cited then was that Martha had demanded that John get out of politics. Or was it, as Lawrence O'Brien charges, that it had nothing to do "with the alleged distress of his wife but everything to do with the fact that big operators had been caught red-handed while attempting to spy on the Democratic Party"?

* * *

Still another spectacular has been set in motion by Guy Goodwin, the Justice Department's plot specialist. Goodwin orchestrated the Harrisburg Conspiracy, which turned out to be a dud, but he keeps on trying. He now alleges conspiracy on the part of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, which, in Goodwin's fevered imagination, menaces the internal security of the United States.

During the Democratic convention in Miami, a grand jury in Tallahassee summoned twenty-three individuals, all VVAW members except one, a woman who was apparently an employee. They were quizzed about a mysterious plot to cause death and destruction at the forthcoming Nixon-Agnew convention. The Vets, a quick-witted group with soldierly reflexes, got word to the Democrats who adopted, on the floor, a resolution denouncing the subpoenaing of the twenty-three while the convention was in session. The effect was to force Goodwin's hand—he felt compelled to seek an immediate indictment against six of the twenty-three.

Of course he got it; selected grand juries are automatically compliant in "internal security" cases. But it was a premature proceeding; all the evidence the government had was the testimony of an informer, William Lemmer, 25, a one-time VVAW coordinator and associated with the Gainesville group for several months.

Lemmer was professionally qualified: he had attended a school for informers conducted by FBI experts in the arts of betrayal. Thereafter he was paid by the FBI—cash, apartment rent, *and* car payments, without which

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no self-respecting informer will work nowadays. Whether Lemmer will convince a trial jury is something else; he is said to have given the Vets a fourteen-hour taped interview, in which he reportedly told them that 95 per cent of the evidence he gave the FBI and the grand jury was false. The other witnesses, VVAW leaders, were called to bolster Lemmer's testimony, if possible, but nothing was got out of them. Asked by lawyers for the VVAW group whether any of the witnesses were informers, Goodwin replied that to his knowledge none were. Four of the witnesses, selected arbitrarily, were cited for contempt until they agreed to testify or until the current grand jury was dissolved. The Court of Appeals, in default of a hearing, shortly released them.

VVAW spokesmen assert that the whole government case is "fabricated from the ravings of a madman." Some of the weapons with which the Vets are accused of planning to disrupt the Republican convention do sound a trifle bizarre. These include "wrist-rocket" slingshots and homemade crossbows designed to fire lead weights, ball bearings and, deadliest of all, "fried" marbles designed to shatter on impact. Conventional weapons, such as automatic rifles and fire bombs, are also included.

As the matter stands, of the six defendants named in the indictment, one was released on bail which the court was willing to accept. In the case of three, the court insisted on $25,000 cash bail in each instance, rather than collateral, such as had been accepted in the first instance. At this writing, two defendants are still in jail.

It is all reminiscent of Harrisburg and will probably come to a similar end. The question is: why such a flimsy proceeding, at this time and place? In the South the most revered institutions are the law and the military; their status excels even that of the church. About the only anti-war witnesses who can get a hearing are dissident veterans. People are listening to them. This is Wallace country, and if enough people listen long enough, it might cause significant defections from the Nixon camp.

The government of course denies a crackdown on the VVAW as such. They have been harassed a bit here and there, but this is the first protective reaction strike from Washington. The Administration must be getting worried.

* * *

Herbert Stein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, at a widely publicized press conference, recently gave us what he termed "the best combination of economic news to be released in one day in a decade." GNP rose at a rate of 8.9 per cent for the second quarter. True, food prices were higher, and there was little reason to believe that the GNP rate would hold for the third and fourth quarters, but the figures for these periods would have little relevance to the election. A day or so later Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz released some more "good numbers." The deficit for the fiscal year which ended June 30 was down to $23.5 billion; it had originally been estimated at $39 billion. This bit of "pleasant news" was in large part the product of larger revenue receipts than anticipated and a windfall brought about by the erroneous overcollection of certain taxes. Still the deficit had dropped and that, taken in connection with Mr. Stein's figures, seemed to show that danger of more inflation has receded.

But has it? On July 12, Leonard Silk, *The New York Times* economic analyst, called attention to the fact that the deficit for fiscal 1973 will be much *higher* than the Nixon Administration's original estimate of $25.5 billion. According to "insiders" the deficit will be at least $30 billion and more likely as high as $35 billion. And of course, in an election year, no thought is being given to requesting a tax increase. Faced with this unpalatable prospect, Nixon and his advisers are trying to saddle the Democrats with blame for next year's whopping deficit. The deficit ahead will be largely due, so the official word has it, to such matters as a $4.5 billion increase in Social Security costs. But Administration spokesmen do *not* mention a factor which is stressed by Silk, namely, "the concealed buildup of defense expenditures." Actually the rise in military spending since the middle of 1970 has been the fastest since the Vietnam buildup of 1966. Department of Defense "unpaid obligations outstanding" have climbed steadily over the past eight months. Nor does this acceleration of defense spending take into account the recent expansion of the Vietnamese War costs which, according to Manufacturers Hanover Trust, is adding $1 billion to $2 billion per month to defense costs. In short, the Pentagon cash account is concealing accrued government liabilities and actual defense spending. This does not sound at all cheery in terms of controlling inflation, which is being fueled even if the impact is deferred.

The situation looks even worse in the light of President Nixon's 1968 campaign, when he pictured himself as an advocate of fiscal responsibility. His accrued budget deficits now amount to $80 billion. Of course he blames it all on the Democrats, with never a word about climbing military expenditures or the interminable war which he is waging. This is not a very reassuring record on which to be running for re-election, and Mr. Nixon is said to be considering delivering a hold-the-line message to the Congress. Or it might be called a pass-the-buck message.

* * *

President Nixon hopes to make heavy inroads on "the Jewish vote" and "the Catholic vote." Jewish voters, preoccupied with the security of Israel, are said to be of a mind to vote for Nixon. White House strategists—there are few Jews in that entourage—are convinced that such a tendency exists and they intend to exploit it to the hilt, through media campaigns, special mailings, and special appeals. In 1968 Nixon drew a meager 17 per cent of "the Jewish vote"; this year he will try to double that percentage, feeling that it might be the key to victory in such states as California (1 million Jews), New York (2½ million), Illinois, Florida and Pennsylvania.

Thus far, he has won the support of one or two Jewish millionaires in Southern California, but there is no indication of a general departure from the traditional liberal-Democratic allegiance of most Jewish voters. While some such shift may take place—speakers at a recent convention of orthodox rabbis at Fallsburg, N.Y., seemed to think it might—it is doubtful that Nixon can exploit it to the extent that he imagines. The Democrats have controlled Congress for most of the period since 1945 and their record of support for Israel has been excellent. A Democrat, President Truman, played a key role in bringing about the recognition of Israel. Some of the leading

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political spokesmen for the American Jewish community—Senator Ribicoff for one—are Democrats. Jewish voters have no reason to question McGovern's position; his four-point statement on Israel, issued in Los Angeles on May 22, can hardly be faulted from a pro-Israeli point of view. Indeed the issue would not have arisen if Humphrey, meanly and irresponsibly, had not tried to make it appear that he was "more pro-Israel" than McGovern. And a recent task force report (June 28) of scholars and community relations executives assembled by the American Jewish Committee concludes that, despite some defections, Jewish involvement in the liberal coalition will probably continue in the 1970s. The depth of that commitment, and the understanding and experience on which it is based, support the conclusion. Voters as sensitive to constitutional freedoms as are most Jewish voters can hardly be enthusiastic about the Nixon record on civil liberties.

Nixon also has under way a carefully orchestrated campaign to win Catholic votes, largely on the issue of federal aid, in one form or another, for "nonpublic" schools. And while here, too, a tendency of some Catholics to vote Republican may be noted—according to Gallup, Nixon drew 33 per cent of "the Catholic vote" in 1968, up from 22 per cent in 1960—it is doubtful that the Nixon strategy of going all-out for the Catholic vote, with its disturbing implications for church-state relations, will produce the great success his strategists anticipate. The fact is that "the bloc vote" theorists have consistently overlooked the extent to which this election raises overriding issues of exceptional moral and emotional content which necessarily cut across all the blocs (so-called—they have never been quite as monolithic as they were made out to be).

Many Catholics, and one may assume a relatively larger group of Jews, oppose the war in Vietnam. No doubt, it is in part for this reason that Gallup showed McGovern outpolling Humphrey for Catholic votes when paired against Nixon (38 per cent to 35 per cent). Bishop Francis J. Mugavero, head of the Brooklyn Catholic diocese, recently issued a pastoral letter, after consultation with a twenty-one-member Diocesan Commission on Peace and Justice, that goes far beyond Cardinal Cooke's recent letter opposing the war. In his letter, addressed to the diocese's 1.5 million members, Bishop Mugavero called for the earliest disengagement of our forces in Vietnam, disavowed such slogans as "we owe it to our honor to remain" and "we have never lost a war," and denounced "the destruction of human life and moral values" which the war has inflicted.

It is insulting to infer, in such an election as this, that the support of Catholics and Jews and ethnics can be won on a bloc-vote basis simply by stressing a single issue which is supposed to determine, automatically and apart from other considerations, how they will vote. By and large, Americans vote their individual consciences and make their own independent evaluations of parties and programs and candidates. Political attitudes have changed; the educational level has risen and there are many more independent voters than there were in the past. Nor does the electorate have to be told that a great deal is at stake in this election. From its inception, Campaign '72 has demonstrated that voters have a marked distaste for slick slogans, media gimmickry, and appeals which assume that their voting behavior is solely determined by blind group loyalties. CAREY MCWILLIAMS

NO-PARTY POLITICS

THE RISE OF JOHN CONNALLY

ROBERT SHERRILL

It's the kind of Horatio Alger story that appeals to self-conscious Texans. With nothing but cunning, luck, frequent ruthlessness, the help of three Presidents, the backing of the dominant political machine in what is essentially a one-party state, and a bottomless slush fund—John Connally has done pretty well.

Except for a twist of chance, he might have done much better, much faster. In 1948, Lyndon Johnson was taking so long to make up his mind whether or not to run for the Senate that the young Turks of his machine in those days decided to quit waiting for LBJ and run Connally, his closest friend, instead. As newsman Stuart Long, who was there that night, recalls:

> We sat and talked, eight of us. . . . Finally we agreed that John Connally should run. He would have been a good campaigner. He was big and handsome with three brothers who were even bigger and more handsome, and their father looked like Old Man Texas himself. They would all have campaigned for Connally. . . . Next morning, some of us advised Johnson of our decision and asked his support. He was popping mad, of course, and that afternoon he announced as a candidate.

A man as vain and ambitious as Connally must find it easy to imagine that, had things turned out differently on that occasion, he would have followed the path Johnson actually took and would today be ending his second term in the White House, rather than being Nixon's jack-of-all-missions angling for a spot in the Cabinet. Meanwhile he can continue to bask in the kind of speculation voiced by *The Washington Post* on the day Nixon announced that he was sticking with Spiro Agnew: "Many observers believe that four years from now Connally might challenge Agnew and other Republicans for the party's Presidential nomination."

Pre-empted by Johnson in 1948, Connally nevertheless was campaign manager for his mentor—in fact, some Texans believe he had a hand in arranging the shady deal in Duval County which put Johnson into office by eighty-seven votes—but shortly thereafter he

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put aside active politics and threw in with Sid Richardson and the Texas oil fraternity to fulfill what his friend, the columnist Les Carpenter, once called "an insatiable desire for riches." Twice in the interim period Connally showed up at national Democratic conventions to place LBJ's name in contention for the Presidential nomination. He gained some national attention in 1960 as the source of the rumor that John Kennedy was being kept alive only by massive doses of cortisone. In 1961 Kennedy appointed him Secretary of the Navy. But despite these spasmodic exposures, he remained a political unknown to most Texans.

Indeed, he was still so faceless in his home state in 1961 that a poll that year showed only 1 per cent of the Texas electorate would vote for him if, as he was planning, he ran the next year for governor. Why should the voters have paid much attention to Connally? He had started poor, son of a south Texas butcher; when he had the chance to rub against money he found he liked the feel of it, and he had spent most of his adult life collecting it, but that was hardly enough to make him noticeable. He acted and looked like just another of those Petroleum Club extroverts who throw fly-in cocktail-Bar-B-Q parties on their ranches.

Nevertheless, Connally survived public apathy, was elected governor three times, and lo, eleven years later is considered to be one of the most potent Democrats in the cashocracy of Texas politics, as well as one of the most colorful and influential of the advisers who flit in and out of the Nixon circle. And that combination makes him by all odds the most successful political double agent of his generation—selling his talents to both parties.

Aside from the previously mentioned rudiments (cash, etc.) his exceptional success has depended on two things: one accidental, the other calculated. The accident was his being shot while riding beside President Kennedy —in fact, hit by one of the same bullets that had passed through the President. The bullet made Connally a minor martyr, a role he showed himself quite capable of exploiting—to such an extent, in fact, that four years after the assassination the Baltimore *Sun* suggested with editorial derision that "the black arm sling Governor Connally is so fond of wearing is getting frayed."

The calculated part of Connally's success stems from his ability—not unusual among Texas politicians, but unusual in the degree to which Connally displays it—to keep parochial and national politics separate: to crush the home-grown GOP while bedding down happily with the national GOP. The goal in each case is the same: a no-party politics. On the international scale, the giant corporations much prefer to dispense with national allegiance. Carl A. Gerstacker, board chairman of Dow Chemical Co., expressed the abiding desire of his species recently: "I have long dreamed of buying an island owned by no nation, and of establishing World Headquarters of the Dow Company on the truly neutral ground, beholden to no nation or society." Similarly, on the national level, corporate man dispenses with party considerations except where the maintenance of a long-established one-party arrangement has been convenient.

Two years ago, in early September, John Connally met privately with a group of wealthy men in Houston to wangle financial support for the U.S. Senate campaign of Lloyd Bentsen, Jr., a Democrat. Bentsen's opponent in the upcoming general election was George Bush. (As it turned out, Bush was defeated, but he was comforted by President Nixon with an appointment as U.N. Ambassador.) Bentsen and Bush are the kind of Gold Dust twins one frequently finds elbowing each other for front position in Texas politics; both handsome Houston millionaires, both heroes of Air Force combat in World War II. They belong to the same country club set, and, ignoring the party labels that set them apart, ideologically they are conservative brothers.

That was the problem. Since the top people brought together by Connally that day would have been pleased to see either good old George or good old Lloyd elected to the Senate, why get involved in either race? More to the point, why kick in money to either one? This, Connally told the group, was a stupid and dangerous frame of mind. "Some of you are inclined to feel that you could be at home in the Republican family," he said. "But the trouble is, they won't give you a key to the house. It's not an easy family to join."

Five months later, Connally himself was not only given the keys to both the front and back door of the national Republican Party, but also presumably a clean set of linens as he moved into the Nixon Cabinet to become the most active Treasury Secretary since Andrew Mellon in the 1920s.

That might appear to be a dramatic switch on Connally's part, but it really wasn't. He had simply been telling his Houston friends, in effect, "Let's not get carried away by the emotion of party labels. Don't start thinking about the Republican 'family' as your 'natural' habitat. Political emotionalism doesn't make money." Most rich Texans understand without having to be reminded. When Connally was named Treasury Secretary, Albert Fay, a Texas oilman and former GOP national committeeman, said, "He is the right man to be Secretary. I thought he was an outstanding Governor and only regret that he was not a Republican." That last, we may assume, was thrown in just to keep the old two-party myth spinning along. Like many other conservative Democrats, Connally preferred Eisenhower over Stevenson in the 1950s; he did all he could to elect Nixon in 1968, including raising money for him, and this year he has his shoulder to the Nixon bandwagon once again. Yet nobody has done more than Connally to keep Texas' rickety Republican movement in a condition of near collapse. His reasons are practical and much admired by the men who have built the golden pyramid in Texas. Because their politics have been run forever under the convenient, *pro forma* "Democratic" label, they feel that it would be much safer to go on operating within the state in a one-party style. Two strong parties could mean trouble.

It was the Texas Democratic establishment's first gnawing fear of an incipient two-party system that transformed Connally in 1962 from a behind-the-scenes manipulator into an active politician seeking his first public office—the governorship—a typically ambitious maiden effort for one who has never lacked either ego or nerve.

The previous year John Tower, a political science pro-

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fessor, had won election to the U.S. Senate as a Republican—a party that hadn't sent anyone from Texas to the Senate in eighty-four years. Texas' conservative Democratic establishment shuddered. If the GOP kept rolling, it would mean that many conservative voters would drift away from the Democratic Party and that ultimately liberals—of whom Texas has a greater number than any other Southern state—might seize the Democratic Party. The old arrangements would be destroyed. And that could mean all sorts of problems—even horrible things like tax reforms.

To reverse the trend, the establishment naturally turned to Connally, the man closest to the king of Texas politics. His relationship to Johnson was accurately appraised by the state party chairman as "like father and son, or like brothers, and you can be sure that John and Lyndon will stick together until the ship goes down."

Their ship had already weathered many storms. In 1956, for instance, when John Connally headed the $1.5 million lobbying effort to free the gas industry from controls (and a South Dakota Senator charged that somebody had tried to bribe him), the then Majority Leader Johnson prevented the Senate from investigating the mess with any efficiency.

Connally knew his way around, and he knew what he had to do in 1962. "I came home to run for governor," Connally said at the time, "because when Tower was elected I felt Texas politics was going to hell in a handbasket." True, the polls had shown that virtually no voters knew Connally's name, much less his qualifications, but billboards and TV spots can overcome such deficiencies; Connally's public relations brigade created his image with more money than had ever before been spent on a Texas candidate.

In some areas Connally spent heavy money for what his critics charged, but could not prove, was vote buying. On the west side of San Antonio, for example, where the Mexican-American vote is dominant, Connally's crowd hired between two to three dozen workers—men who hand out leaflets—at each precinct; in the past, a gubernatorial candidate had hired only one or two workers for each precinct. Lalo Solis, an old-timer in San Antonio precinct politics said, "I've never seen so much money spent in a campaign. On election day you could hardly go into the voting places the sidewalks were so crowded with campaign workers." In the more primitive days of Texas politics the practice had been to buy black and Latin votes at $2 a head, but Connally carried the "modern" practice—hiring a "worker" and his family for $10 a day, plus $1 for lunch—much farther.

Connally's campaign tactics were frequently vicious. Of his liberal opponent, Don Yarborough (no kin to former Sen. Ralph Yarborough), Connally charged that he was the tool of a "diabolical plan" of the "left-wing radical Americans for Democratic Action" and "Eastern labor organizers" to seize control of Texas for "outsiders." Texans, having been subjected to such code phrases for many years, understood that to mean that Yarborough (a Houston trial lawyer who was ambitious but only mildly liberal) was fronting for the Communists. Even so, Connally barely survived. Only a torrent of money swept him past his rivals—including a Republican opponent whom he denounced as "a renegade turncoat opportunist," because the man had once been a Democrat.

The start of his tenure was not promising. He seemed gauche and insecure; his biases were too obvious. While running for office he had traded heavily on his Cabinet connection with Kennedy to win strong support from blacks and Texas Mexicans. For them, he had campaign cards showing a picture of him walking beside President Kennedy, and Kennedy leaning over intimately

Pelley, Christian Science Monitor

"Pssst . . . Any Idea Where We're Going?"

and whispering into his ear. He plastered the Mexican sections of the state with "Viva Connally" posters—the slogan and the colors being reminiscent, by no accident, of the highly successful "Viva Kennedy" campaign in south Texas in 1960. In some black precincts, Connally had won more than 90 per cent of the vote in 1962. But within a year after taking office he had offended the minorities by vetoing federal anti-poverty programs, denouncing Medicare, opposing civil rights laws.

The slippage in his support was dramatic. On November 21, 1963, the Houston *Chronicle*'s poll—possibly the most accurate political poll in Texas—showed that Connally would have only a fifty-fifty chance of being reelected the next year. Already the Dallas *News*, the powerful voice of conservatism, had written ominously about the possibility that if Connally lost control of the state delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1964, Lyndon Johnson might not be put back on the Kennedy ticket. Things, to say the least, looked black.

But November 22 changed everything. By surviving Oswald's marksmanship, Connally became the most undefeatable politician in Texas. The clothing he was wearing

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when shot was put on display in the Texas archives, where it received the kind of popular reverence once given the "pigges bones" and other religious relics of Chaucer's Pardoner. Thereafter, he could get by with anything. He had come into office promising to cut state spending by 10 per cent; under him, the budget doubled. He came into office promising to pass a law that would limit a governor to two two-year terms; he never mentioned that again, and was elected three times.

He persuaded two of his three legislatures to raise taxes—mostly on consumers; he lowered taxes on some industries. Under Connally, Texas got a consumer credit code that would permit, hypothetically at least, 300 per cent interest on loans; he appointed one of the state's best-known industrial polluters to the state pollution control board; he appointed a new Parks and Wildlife Commission which issued permits that would allow dredging within 300 feet of oyster reefs in all Texas bays—an action which conservationists warned could ruin forever many ageless reefs via pollution. Another Connally appointee to this commission was A. W. Moursand, trustee of Lyndon Johnson's estate while he was in the White House; as it happened, the Parks Commission decided to build a state park just across the road from LBJ's ranch, to protect him from developers.

And because he did business many favors, Connally was not shy to ask businessmen for help in return. Speaking to a group of San Antonio businessmen he said, "Taxes on business are easily the most popular, but I've protected you from them." That was in 1966 when he was demanding that they support his candidate for attorney general. Just to make sure they understood their debt to him, Connally added, "I think I could pass a corporate income tax in thirty days. Maybe you'd get interested then. Why don't you get interested now?" That kind of heavy hand did not make him unpopular with Texas businessmen; they had never known any other kind of hand. He continued: "The attorney general has powers of visitation. He can go into your office and look at your books any time. If you don't think that's important, wait until you get an unfriendly one."

Some newspapers and political opponents from time to time accused him of receiving an annual $80,000 stipend from oilman Sid Richardson's estate, in violation of the state constitution which forbids a governor to accept outside income; he simply ignored the charges. (He continued to do so until 1970 when, on his being appointed Treasury Secretary, a Senate committee forced him to make a defense. He explained that, yes, he had taken more than half a million dollars of Richardson money while he was Governor, but he was simply being paid for something he had *earned* before taking office. The Senators thought that sounded just fine.)

Where Connally had once seemed cocky, now he often appeared arrogant. Of his surviving the assassination, Connally said, "The good Lord chose to leave me here, so I feel that, instead of being elected, maybe I'm one of God's elect." It was not said lightly.

An oppressive atmosphere—or perhaps it should be said, even *more* of an oppressive atmosphere than was normal for Texas—began to build up. The Governor established a super-regency over the state university system under the chairmanship of Frank Erwin, a key man in the LBJ-Connally machine. The Erwin super-board became nationally infamous for the manner in which it suppressed dissent among students and faculty—to such an extent that some of the University of Texas' best, or at least most highly paid, professors fled.

In south Texas oppression took an old familiar form when Texas Rangers, with Connally's consent, broke up a strike by Latin farm workers, who were being paid from 40¢ to 80¢ an hour and thought they deserved more. On several occasions the Rangers put strikers in the hospital; they broke into the home of one strike organizer in the night to deliver a beating that injured his spine. On another occasion, Rangers beat a picket and then held his head within a few inches of a passing train. Labor leaders begged Connally to call off the Rangers and bring both sides to arbitration. He refused, saying the proposal was just a liberal scheme. "There are always charges of Ranger brutality," he said, "and always those who will take political advantage of it."

He became increasingly careless about—or indifferent toward—the opinion of minority groups. When Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated, Connally said, "He did not deserve assassination" but, he added, "he contributed much to the chaos, and the strife, and the confusion, and the uncertainty in this country."

No matter. Connally was still the most popular Governor in recent Texas history. However, his popularity extended only erratically beyond the borders of the state. At the National Governors' Conference in 1967 he tried to force through a resolution supporting LBJ's war in Vietnam; his demands reached a loud and red-faced level—he began ranting that governors who opposed the resolution stood the risk of being classified with "pseudo-intellectuals, clergymen and that type"—but he was voted down. To most Texans, their wavy-haired Governor was a handsome, dashing fellow—so much a peacock that he sometimes admonished subordinates that they should "dress better, spruce up, keep up appearances"—but most Eastern intellectuals, judging looks by assumed intent, would probably have agreed with Murray Kempton, who wrote in 1967, "Governor Connally has cold eyes and a sulky, self-pitying mouth; one remembered a television program on which he, Sen. John Tower, and State Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr appeared in succession, each fixing the same basilisk gaze upon the camera and the shattering impact of the recognition that, when the Eyes of Texas Are Upon You, you are in serious trouble."

Within the state, he had bitter enemies. Hank Brown, then state AFL-CIO president, denounced him as a "labor-hating, labor-baiting Dixiecrat." Sen. Ralph Yarborough called him "the worst, the most vindictive, the most reactionary governor in Texas history." But the sum of such opposition was hardly enough to make him lose his composure, much less his office. Nothing seemed really to bother Connally in those days, except the fact that President Johnson, his old mentor, would not agree to run the country according to Connally's advice. On one occasion reporters recall Connally raving and cursing about how "Lyndon comes down here and tells me he

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agrees with me and then gets up there and acts just the opposite."

But if Connally couldn't have everything, he didn't miss it by far. By the start of his last term, his appointees held a majority of the seats on every important regulatory commission and agency, including, of course, the Railroad Commission, whose duties include regulating oil production. In matters affecting all business and industry, the old-line conservative Democratic clique was supreme. Indeed, as is true of all successful political bosses, Connally attended even to the little details, the little favoritisms, the little revenges. When he learned that a Republican had been given an architectural contract by the University's Board of Regents, he had the contract voided. When the architect asked him why, Connally came right out with it: "This is a one-party state, and the sooner you ------ Republicans learn that, the better off you'll be."

By the beginning of his third term in 1966, he could make this claim with total assurance. As Alan L. Otten reported in *The Wall Street Journal* that year: "Gov. John B. Connally has impressively accomplished one of the main missions that brought him hurrying back from his job as Navy Secretary in Washington four and a half years ago. He has slowed Texas' drift toward becoming a Northern-style two-party state, with a liberal Democratic Party and a conservative Republican Party, and has preserved at least a while longer the firm control of the conservative Democrats. . . . 'He's halted the trend far more effectively than anyone else could have,' asserts a Texan now working in the White House. 'He's set back the liberals and the Republicans a decade.' "

In matters of politics, however, Connally's attention span is not long. Even the pleasures of almost total power began to bore him, and by 1968 he was fed up with manipulating the hayseeds and hangers-on who constitute a majority of the Texas legislature. So he chucked the governorship and joined the Houston law firm of Vinson, Elkins, Searls—considered by many to be the most influential in the state—to pursue once again his first love, making money. After all, he was probably not worth more than $2 million or $3 million at the time, a piddling amount in his circle.

In returning to private life, Connally learned that although he could bequeath all the oil needed to make a political machine continue to run smoothly, he could not bequeath the equally necessary pivotal personality. His anointed successors, both dull fellows, were soundly defeated in the 1968 and 1972 Democratic primaries. It was just as well that Connally's ambitions shifted to Washington.

His most obvious achievement during his eighteen months as Nixon's chief economics spokesman was to prove that the notorious "Texas personality" is not dead. Connally seemed quite pleased with himself that his brusque and crowding style offended some people. With obvious delight he acknowledged that he had made a reputation in Washington as "a sort of bully boy on the manicured playing fields of international finance."

But there were others, including several close to the President, who were unable to smile at his pushiness. Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, was so embarrassed by the way Connally manhandled other nations in negotiating a new monetary policy that he publicly rebuked Connally—though not by name. Burns was trying to win back some of the overseas friends lost by Connally's actions—which *The Economist* of London described with restraint as "gutsy anti-intellectualism." Financial writer Hobart Rowen said of Connally's stewardship that "most of our trading partners feel, rightly or not, that Connally couldn't care less about the problems of other countries. . . . The rest of the world remains convinced that under Connally, the United States was willing to let things drift, risking the creation of inward-looking, antagonistic blocs. So most breathe a sigh of relief at Connally's departure (although fearing that he might some day turn up as Secretary of State)."

There was a time when Henry Kissinger was reported to suspect that Connally was trying to butt into his sphere of delicate foreign policy negotiations. Officials of the State Department spoke openly of their concern that Connally was trying to take over foreign economic policy, an area traditionally assigned to the State Department—and Connally only went so far to soothe the diplomats as to say he did "not necessarily" have that in mind.

Not since Mellon left the Treasury forty years ago had the Secretaryship been filled by so good a friend to business. Connally was the key lobbyist for the $250 million loan to save Lockheed Aircraft from bankruptcy; along the way he persuaded his fellow Texan, Rep. Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking Committee and a sometime Populist, to support the loan—the biggest government bailout of the biggest corporate bungle, next to the Penn Central fiasco, of this generation. One Treasury aide told *Newsweek*, "I don't think anyone appreciates the magnitude of what [Connally] has done. This loan was supposed to be totally dead when we started out. The Democratic Left opposed big-business bailouts, the Republican Right opposed it as well and we couldn't even keep the Defense Department and big business in line." But Connally pulled it off.

Connally's attitude toward the Lockheed loan came out in a remarkably candid exchange with Sen. William Proxmire.

Proxmire: Lockheed's bailout is not a subsidy, it is different from a subsidy, it is the beginning of a welfare program for large corporations. I would remind you that in a subsidy program there is a *quid pro quo*. You make a payment to an airline and they provide a certain amount of services for it. In welfare you make a payment and there is no return. In this case the government gives a guarantee and there is no requirement on the part of Lockheed to perform under that guarantee. A guarantee of $250 million and no benefit, no *quid* for the *quo*.

Connally: What do you mean no benefit?

Proxmire: Well, they don't have to perform.

Connally: What do we care whether they perform? We are guaranteeing them basically a $250 million loan. What for? Basically so they can hopefully minimize their losses, so they can provide employment for 31,000 people throughout the country at a time when we desperately

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need that type of employment. That is basically the rationale and justification.

What do we care whether they perform? It has been the commonly accepted attitude in government for at least a generation, of course, but not many officials have been brazen enough to come right out with it. Moreover, when the General Accounting Office began probing around in the transaction and asked to see the records on which the loan was based—there was some suspicion that Lockheed's financial record had not justified risking so much government money—Connally blocked the investigation by refusing to turn over the data.

Connally pushed legislation to reduce business taxes by $20 billion, while reducing individual taxes by only $2 billion. When Democratic critics in Congress suggested that this was a bit lopsided, he said they were mouthing "the rhetoric of politics."

But of all his assistance to business during those eighteen months, perhaps nothing in the long run will compare with the help he gave—most of it still only hazily defined—to his friends in the oil industry. He put heavy pressure on the State Department, and presumably also on Nixon, to take three significant steps:

(1) Put more official diplomatic clout behind the major oil companies, which now face loss of production and profits in a fuss with the increasingly hard-nosed Mideastern nations. *(2)* Open negotiations to buy Soviet oil and gas. It was probably no accident that Brown & Root —the Texas corporation which always played a key financial role in the campaigns of both Connally and Lyndon Johnson, and on whose board of directors Connally sat before becoming Treasury Secretary—was selected to do one of the preliminary studies of the Russian-U.S. oil trade. *(3)* Cut off economic development aid to nations that nationalize U.S. oil operations; nations, that is, such as Peru, which took over a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey in 1968. Connally is also unhappy with Peru because it refused to pay Brown & Root for a highway building job it had thoroughly bungled.

Generally the press loved him. The syndicated columnists, who—either out of honest idolatry, or because the charm and excitement of his personality was so welcome in a drab Administration, or because they were trying to butter up an important news source—could not say enough superlative things about him. To Joseph Alsop, Connally was "one of the half dozen ablest members of the Cabinet of the last fifty years." Not to be outdone, Joseph Kraft hailed him as "probably the most able man in American politics." Evans & Novak were so enchanted with Connally that they passed along even the minutiae of his relationship with the President —"At White House meetings, Nixon has amazed Administration officials by roaring at every Connally joke. . . ."

A few reporters retained their balance, and some seemed repelled by what was going on. The most clear-headed of all was Stephen S. Rosenfeld, a columnist *The Washington Post* seems to have retained to inject common sense into the newspaper when it is sick from its own establishmentarian glut. On Connally's departure he wrote:

> The phenomenon of John Connally is fascinating but the phenomenon of the adoration of John Connally is something else again. From the President on down through most of official Washington (though not Spiro Agnew) and the press, there has been a notable general tendency to render tribute to "Big John," to push past any flaws that might be perceived in his stewardship at the Treasury, to ignore the core of buccaneer conservatism in his political philosophy, and instead to celebrate his personal style and to anticipate his return to Washington as Secretary of State, at the very least.
>
> Churlish as any comment here might be deemed, it nonetheless seems appropriate to ask whether John Connally has not served Washington's current psychic needs better than he has served the nation's continuing political needs and whether, furthermore, the common idolatry does not mask a disturbing mis-diagnosis of our national ills.

In any event, Rosenfeld continued, one could not help but wonder what stimulated the idolatry, for Connally's power base in Texas had just been wiped out with the gubernatorial defeat of his protégé Ben Barnes, and Connally's own brother, Wayne, had been defeated in his bid for the lieutenant governorship. As for Connally in Washington, just what did his activities there amount to? He had spent eighteen months popping off and posing for TV and manipulating people and indeed having an insider's role in major policy changes, "but he did not stick around long enough to insure that his policies would succeed, or even long enough to see them fail. He's like the mechanic who slams down your hood, takes your money, and goes home for the weekend before you can drive your car out of the garage. The fate of the wage-price controls is uncertain and the Smithsonian agreement [on international monetary policy] is wobbling; no basic problems in the domestic economy or in our international monetary situation have been resolved. But meanwhile John Connally is back on the ranch."

Since Rosenfeld wrote that, there have been two changes. Connally hadn't been back on the ranch long enough to milk the cows before Nixon sent him off on a world junket. And, second, the Smithsonian agreement stopped wobbling a few weeks after Connally left town and just plain fell apart, as England broke the agreement and let the pound float.

Otherwise, Rosenfeld has brilliantly touched a point in the character of Connally that few others have noticed. He is a drifter; a colorful, talented fellow, but a political drifter nevertheless. He acknowledges it: "I've been called an opportunist, and I do move from place to place and from thing to thing and I enjoy it." No sooner had he seen Johnson safely elected to the U.S. Senate than he tired of politics and drifted off to make his pile, happily falling in with a crowd that spent as much time on horse racing and quail shooting as it did on business—which may explain why he stayed with them as long as he did. He stayed with Kennedy's Cabinet less than a year before returning to Texas to run for governor. He did stick in the governorship for six years, but he bellyached constantly about being fed up and bored with the job, and his administration proved it, for he innovated almost nothing; the state drifted with

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him. When he went back to private law practice, he stayed put for less than two years. He had been at the Treasury for less than a year when reporters began filing stories about his being restless and tired and talking of wanting to go back to the ranch.

Rep. Bob Eckhardt of Houston has known Connally all his adult life. They were at the University of Texas at the same time, and Eckhardt fought Connally (a popular campus leader) then as he does today. When Eckhardt was in the Texas legislature Governor Connally was trying to put something across in his usual style and Eckhardt made a speech in which he said:

I think I might quote *Measure for Measure*—

"It is great to have the giant's power
But it is tyranny to use it like a giant."

And I might paraphrase it:

"It is great to have the giant's power
But it is worse than tyranny to use it like a card shark."

If the national electorate is ever offered the opportunity to elect John Connally to something, it might bear that comparison in mind, for it is sound. Connally is the man in the embroidered vest. Life for him has been glamorous and irresponsible; he has made many friends and recruited many admirers as he traveled the river, but at heart he is only a restless gambler, always in passage, always in search of the bigger pot. □

Rep. Bob Wilson: Voice of San Diego

JOSEPH JOHN TRENTO
Mr. Trento has worked for The Washington Post, *as bureau chief for World Wide Features in Washington, and for Jack Anderson. He recently received a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism. He is currently under contract to Praeger for a book to be called* NASA.

San Diego

San Diego is a city blessed with a good climate, choice location and a case of civic apathy unmatched in the turmoil of the 1970s. This city of a million and a half is made up of the *nouveau riche* and those who work for the *nouveau riche*. News coverage is the poorest in the nation for a city of comparable size; James Copley, the anti-Communist, pro-Navy publisher, keeps a remarkable grip on the contents of his morning and afternoon papers. C. Arnholt Smith, close friend of President Nixon, and the biggest GOP moneyman in town, controls or has controlled a good part of civilian industry here. Up until a few years ago the Democratic Party wrote off San Diego as a lost cause.

San Diego, a new and growing town, is shedding its honky-tonk Navy youth to become an urban tourist center with little crime, an unpolluted harbor and scant interest in or sympathy for whatever pains its sister cities are going through. San Diego is preoccupied with itself, its people overwhelmingly interested in the pursuit of the good life. Lost in this pursuit is the kind of criticism and attention a city must focus on its problems if it would guard its future. Because the city has so few evident problems, there is a feeling that it is running like a fine watch. So the people who live here let the powers that be run the town.

The vacuum thus produced was big enough to attract an alliance of the retired Navy, the active Pentagon brass that visits and assigns men and ships to the bay, and the newly rich. These last are primarily in aerospace and related industries. So the political alliance makes San Diego a corporate government town. The vacuum has existed for years and the results are clear enough. Some beneficial windfalls result by accident, for example projects like Mission Bay Park receive little opposition and are quickly put into effect.

But the basic problem remains: the power establishment in the city faces no real opposition. The newspapers and television are part of the establishment: the result is that politicians and businessmen escape those disciplines that a questioning public and active press impose. When an outsider challenges local ethics, the inevitable answer is, "That is how it has been done here for years." A car advertisement calls San Diego "Camelot by the Bay" but even King Arthur would find it difficult to operate here without going on the take.

For twenty years Robert "Bob" Wilson, friend of Richard Nixon, chairman of the vital GOP Congressional Campaign Committee and fishing buddy of ITT President Harold Geneen has functioned as San Diego's unchallenged voice in national affairs. In his years on the Hill, Wilson has raised millions for the Republican Party. As the fourth ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, he is privy to the highest secrets of the Department of Defense. He has channeled billions in defense industries and installations to San Diego. It was Wilson who brought to the city the original contracts that resulted in the National Steel and Shipbuilding complex, once owned by his political ally C. Arnholt Smith.

Wilson was born in California's Imperial Valley in 1916. His father was a Republican banker. A heavyset and balding man, he was elected to Congress in 1952, but his first serious brush with politics came when he helped manage Art Linkletter's campaign for Associated Men's president at San Diego State College. Wilson himself never completed college. He left San Diego State to attend the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles. As a kid Wilson used to sell peanuts or anything else that would turn a nickel. "My career wasn't really heading in any direction until I met Norm Tolle," Wilson told me.

Norman Tolle has been in the advertising business in San Diego for forty years. He looks like a shorter version of Gen. Omar Bradley. "Bob Wilson was not the kind of man who liked regimentation. I guess that is why he could not make it in the army. He was in boot camp and desperate. They were putting him through training and he was in agony. He had written me letters telling me how

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badly things were going. I sent him copywriting assignments to keep the army off his mind. Finally, just before he was about to be shipped out, his daughter came down with rheumatic fever. I went to the Red Cross and pleaded with them to let him out of the army on the basis of this hardship, and that was the extent of his military career."

The two men met when Wilson was a salesman for San Diego's largest dairy. Tolle had the advertising contract, and Wilson, who already fancied himself as an advertising man, didn't approve of how the account was being run. On that basis, the friendship began.

The two men worked together until Wilson was elected to Congress. One of his assignments had been to handle political accounts, and Wilson tried his political wings in a series of right-wing campaigns. His candidates were not very successful, but it was one of these clients who urged him to try for Congress.

After Wilson had been in Congress a few years, he organized his own advertising firm with a partner, Gerald Champ. The firm called Champ/Wilson ran into trouble in 1960 when a former account executive for Wilson said that the Congressman was using his influence with the Defense Department to assist clients who did defense work. Wilson ignored the charges. Later Wilson left Champ/Wilson and the agency became Barnes/Champ. *Life* magazine claims that the agency was controlled by C. Arnholt Smith through his top political aide, Frank Thornton. The magazine has charged that Smith improperly funneled political campaign contributions through Barnes/Champ. Smith denies the charges but Wilson admits, "I have received contributions from Mr. Smith; how he makes them is his business." Smith made no effort to explain why Frank Thornton now heads the Barnes/Champ agency.

Jack Canaan, a long-time public relations man in San Diego, formed the Alliance for Truth in Advertising following the Jack Anderson revelations about ITT, Wilson, and the decision to bring the GOP convention to the city. Canaan has his own theory as to how Smith and others have funneled funds to various political campaigns. "It is standard procedure in advertising around here. The candidate who is being supported by the agency may run up a bill of, say, $10,000. He loses the local end of the election or the entire race. His fund-raising committee disappears right away. The agency guy is out the money. He may write a letter or two, but never with any real pressure to collect, and it is then written off as a bad debt." Canaan claims that it is easy for one large client to dominate any advertising firm. "If you have one big client who contributes say 60 per cent of your business and he has a political candidate he wants you to take on, you will because you can't afford not to. If the guy skips town after a loss, your big client writes you a check for 'PR' services. It is done all the time here. Sure it's not right, sure it's not ethical, but it is done."

After Wilson broke off relationships with the other agencies, he told Tolle that he "felt funny without some kind of an agency affiliation." So he and Norm Tolle reached a new agreement. Wilson became a vice president and consultant of Tolle Incorporated. It is difficult to assess how much Wilson's political connections and Pentagon influence may have affected Tolle in asking Wilson back. Tolle describes Wilson's return to his first agency as a "sentimental thing," but there is nothing sentimental about Tolle clients who do a lot of business with the Defense Department.

Tolle did admit to me that Wilson had done several favors for the agency in his new capacity. "He did clear the way for a client who wanted a fair hearing in the Defense Department." Tolle also told how Wilson arranged VIP tours and luncheons for clients and their families who visited Washington. According to Tolle, Wilson owns five of eighty shares of the prosperous Tolle stock. While Wilson is not paid a salary, his campaign is run by Tolle each time the Congressman stands for reelection. And, as Tolle puts it, "Bob gets paid when he does something for us. You know, it gives us prestige to have a Congressman on."

The candor of both Wilson and Tolle before a tape recorder may seem incredible, but it merely indicates the protected political lives these figures live in the San Diego environment. Only one reporter, Robert Cox, of the San Diego *Union*, ever dared slip through a critical interview with Bob Wilson, and the reaction was so rough that the Copley papers removed him as political writer. The Jack Anderson columns are not carried locally save in a couple of small throwaway sheets, and even there they are carried selectively. Tolle and Wilson can speak freely: first, because they know that if they do say anything damaging it will never be seen by local voters; and, second, because one has the feeling both men honestly believe that there is nothing improper about their activities.

Norman Tolle claims that his relationship with Wilson is a matter of public knowledge. I asked both men if any of the firms on the Tolle client list did business with the military, specifically the Navy, and thus might involve Wilson in conflict of interest. Tolle said: "If we can approach our prospective clients and say Bob Wilson is a vice president and active consultant, it really does impress some people." However, both men denied that any of their firms did business with the military in any way, but I have made a close check of the Tolle Company client list and found that the following do business with the Department of Defense or are owned by ITT: each business on the list was approached; those having only minor contacts with the military were omitted.

Arts and Craft Press, San Diego
Atlas Fence Company, San Diego
California Electric Works, San Diego
Cal-Mil Plastics, Carlsbad, Calif.
Cambell Industries, Inc., San Diego
Commerce Publishing Company, San Diego
(a Tolle company)
Sim J. Harris & Company, San Diego
ITT Cable Hydrospace Division, San Diego
Lloyd Pest Control, San Diego
Glenn Mitchell Manuals, Inc., San Diego
Charles Myers Industrial Trucks, San Diego
Nelson Photo Supply, San Diego
A.O. Reed & Company, San Diego
San Diego Divers Supply, Inc., San Diego
Sheraton Harbor Island Hotel, San Diego
Rodney Stokes Company, San Diego
Thompson Photo Service, San Diego
Tru-Bloc Concrete Products, San Diego

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Tolle admits that Wilson first introduced him to ITT/Sheraton officials. "But he had nothing to do with bringing the account to this agency. I frankly don't see anything wrong with Bob introducing me to these ITT people."

Tolle said that he competed with six other companies for the ITT PR contract. I was unable to verify this statement; the marketing vice president of ITT who handled the hiring of Tolle's firm left shortly after the Anderson columns began. Despite his problems, Tolle is not sorry to be involved in ITT. "They could not be better people. I think they are damn fine people. Like New Yorkers, they sometimes apply a little too much high pressure."

Tolle's part in ITT's affairs included getting Dita Beard bailed out on a drunk-driving charge while visiting San Diego last August. Tolle denies that he got the charge lowered to reckless driving. "All I did was bail her out. I called the attorney ITT uses here and he arranged for the lower charge. I can tell you this, though, I know the arresting officer made several technical errors in the procedure and that is how we got the charge reduced from a 502" (drunk driving in California).

Tolle claims that at a recent ITT meeting in Los Angeles the whole matter of the Beard memo was explained to his satisfaction; he says he is sure that the memo was doctored. "They have proof you know." However, Wilson does not question the authenticity of the memo. "I believe the FBI report," Wilson told me.

The following account of the ITT/GOP convention deal is based on information I received from Wilson, Tolle and other sources who asked not to be named. It differs very much from the account by Anderson and others.

"It was not the President who wanted the convention in San Diego, but Bob Finch," Wilson claims. "Finch was in San Diego to help me dedicate a new park and at the dedication he told me that the party would like a bid from San Diego. He said that the requirements had been lowered from $1.2 million and 18,000 rooms to $800,000 and 12,000 rooms. So I immediately began to try and raise the $800,000."

According to Wilson, a dinner had been set up at the Half Moon Inn (a Sheraton Hotel) on May 6, 1971. Dita Beard, he says, was present, as were Harold Geneen and other ITT officials. At this meeting Wilson proposed the convention deal to his old friend Geneen. According to Wilson and others, the deal was not the convention site in exchange for approval of the Hartford/ITT merger, but in exchange for the presence of President Nixon at the Sheraton Harbor Island for the duration of the convention. His stay there, it was assumed, would provide the new hotel with millions in free publicity. According to Wilson and others, Dita Beard, in a misguided effort to make herself look important to her Washington boss, William R. Merriam, wrote the memo linking the convention deal with the Hartford/ITT Justice Department compromise. Wilson claims it is true that Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst and former Atty. Gen. John Mitchell knew nothing of the events in California. He asserts that Anderson was given the memo by Dita Beard's boss, William Merriam; others whom I have interviewed agree. According to Wilson, Merriam, fed up with Dita Beard's behavior, thought that publication of the memo would terminate her employment.

Wilson, so this version of the story goes, originally asked Geneen for the entire $800,000 guarantee to meet whatever Wilson could not raise to bring the convention to San Diego. Geneen, friendly but tough, said to Wilson, "I'll give you $200,000 if the President stays here." The two dickered on the figure and settled at $400,000. Wilson is convinced that the President would have stayed at the Harbor Island. "I know the White House had made arrangements after our first meeting; I know the plans were that he was to stay there. It was all arranged." Jack Canaan's Alliance for Truth in Advertising had disturbed Tolle to the point that he asked Wilson if he wanted to resign. Instead of getting a direct reply, Tolle received his letter back, with the phrase, "Keep cool" written across it and signed by Wilson.

Wilson's friendship with Harold Geneen is of long standing. Both are avid fishermen and Wilson had arranged for a fishing trip to Baja California for Geneen. On other visits to California Geneen and Wilson had spent much time together, and Wilson kept badgering Geneen about bringing industry to San Diego. On one such occasion Geneen mentioned that he was looking for a place to build an underseas cable plant for ITT like one it operates in London. Wilson told Geneen he could find a site for such a plant. Using his immense influence with the Port Com-

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mission, Wilson got ITT to bid for 40 acres of land at the National City Terminal (Southern San Diego Bay). The circumstances of the bidding on this property are cloudy, but another company dropped its bid at the last minute without explanation, and that cleared the way for ITT. The company then claimed that the ground on which the plant was being built presented a problem because of "unusual subsoil conditions." The Port Commission then gave ITT a $400,000 rebate on the lease. This amounted to more than four years' free rent on the property. Wilson also discovered that the Half Moon Inn was for sale on Shelter Island in San Diego Bay, and he told Geneen about it. "It was amazing; he just picked up the phone, told them to buy it and they did."

Later, again at Wilson's urging, Geneen bought the lease to the Ramada Inn on Harbor Island and the adjoining restaurant. To top off ITT's San Diego bonanza, construction delays on the Sheraton Harbor Island caused ITT to request a further rebate of $50,000, which the Port Commission also approved. On a smaller matter, it voted 4 to 3 to allow Sheraton to put up a 3-foot-high sign proclaiming its name, while refusing pleas by other hotels for the same advertising.

During this time the Tolle Company represented the Port Commission, as well as ITT/Sheraton. Thus Wilson's influence on the Port Commission was twofold—as a vice president of Tolle and as a Congressman with considerable power. Angered by events, Harvey Furgath used his position as a Port Commission member to have the Tolle Company dismissed by the Port District. Tolle received $14,000 from the Port District, plus an amount he refuses to disclose from ITT/Sheraton.

In addition to the usual junkets and other minor scandals that Americans have come to expect from too many elected politicians, Wilson was involved in one act that enraged the House of Representatives, but died quickly because of the tradition of comity (never speak ill of a fellow Representative). He managed to be recorded as present and voting in the House on September 9, 10 and 16, 1968, while in fact he was in California raising money for the Congressional Campaign Committee. Tally clerk Thomas Cooke was made the scapegoat; the GOP establishment stopped a House ethics investigation and saved its big fund raiser.

Wilson also inserted a little right-wing hate book, *A Texan Looks At Lyndon* by J. Haley, into the *Congressional Record*. Wilson has had several other lapses into right-wing politics. In 1957 he was part of a secret right-wing task force intent on defeating Eisenhower's budget.

Wilson has not spoken to his old friend Harold Geneen since "the publicity began. But I am going to give him a call soon. We are supposed to go bonefishing in Florida." Wilson believes the city benefited from the entire ITT-convention experience. "We established the fact that we are a convention city. You know, this has been a lousy year for me. It is sort of like the prostitute—it's a lousy job but every once in a while you meet a nice guy." How does he feel about his treatment by the press? "This is typical of the crap you have to take as a member of Congress." □

TELEVISING THE PRESIDENT, PART II

The Fairness Doctrine: How Fair?

STEPHEN R. BARNETT
Mr. Barnett teaches law at the University of California, Berkeley, specializing in the mass media.

On June 22 the FCC announced the results of its reconsideration, begun two years ago, of the rules governing the use of television by the President and his opponents. The commission decided not to change a thing. The existing rules will therefore prevail for this election year and the foreseeable future, unless changed by Congress or the courts.

The rules fall under two headings: "equal time," discussed in a previous article [*The Nation*, June 26], and the "fairness doctrine," with which this article is concerned. The scope of the equal-time law is narrow. It covers only announced candidates for public office, and thus did not apply to President Nixon before January 7. Even in the period since then, Mr. Nixon's various television speeches have not produced a right to equal time for his Democratic opposition, since in the FCC's view the only candidates "opposed" to Nixon until the Republican convention are other aspirants for the Republican nomination. And even after the convention and through the November election, Nixon TV speeches may be held exempt from the equal-time law as "bona fide news events," following precedents set by the FCC in 1956 and 1964 and left untouched by the June 22nd decision.

In all such cases where the equal-time law for one reason or another does not apply to a television appearance by the President, the fairness doctrine nonetheless does. Formulated by the FCC, ratified by Congress and upheld by the Supreme Court, this doctrine requires broadcasters to provide "reasonable opportunity for the presentation of contrasting viewpoints on controversial issues of public importance." Unlike equal time, it is not limited to candidates for office and is subject to no exceptions for coverage of "bona fide news events" or any other program categories. Thus, as the FCC has said, "There is no question but that the fairness doctrine is applicable to Presidential addresses on controversial issues of public importance."

The catch is that "fairness" is much less precise than equal time in what it requires. When Mr. Nixon pre-empts fifteen to thirty minutes of prime time on all three networks to address the nation on the war in Vietnam (as he has done three times this year) or school bussing (as he has done once), the question is *what kind* of opportunity

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the fairness doctrine requires for presentation of the opposing point of view. With one notable exception, the FCC has taken the position—which it has now reaffirmed—that the answer is committed to the almost unlimited discretion of the network or station:

> In the case of Presidential addresses there is no requirement that they be met by countering addresses. Licensees are of course free to do so . . . but they may also make the judgment to use a variety of formats—the presentation of representative partisan viewpoints on newscasts, on news interview programs, and the licensee's own analysis, either after the speech or in subsequent newscasts and editorials.

Thus the opportunity provided the "other side" need not be in any way equal or comparable to that provided the President. When he states his case in an uninterrupted prime-time speech on all three networks simultaneously, it is enough that the opposing points of view be "covered" by each network through bits and pieces of programming in a patchwork of formats. These may be spread, furthermore, over an indefinite period of time.

When the FCC has examined the shards of programming thus spun off by a Presidential speech, it has found them either roughly "balanced" in themselves or weighted *in favor* of the President's point of view. Consequently, the FCC now refuses to examine the programming or to require the networks to produce it. The mechanics of the fairness doctrine are such that the complaining party has the burden of proving that the overall programming on the issue in question has not been balanced, but he or she is denied access to the scripts or tapes and even the program logs needed to make such a showing. "The complainant can usually obtain this information by communicating with the station," the FCC tells the public in its "fairness doctrine primer." The statement is false. Stations and networks customarily refuse to produce the information, and the FCC will not make them do so.

Thus it has long been evident that the fairness doctrine, as applied to Presidential addresses, does not in fact require broadcasters to provide a "balanced presentation of the opposing viewpoints," as the FCC stated in its landmark 1949 report articulating the doctrine. Nor does it require "similar opportunities" for the presentation of the opposing views, as the FCC said in 1963. The gap between what the doctrine was supposed to mean and what it means in fact has widened progressively in recent years, as the television speech has amplified the power of the Presidency and as Mr. Nixon, in particular, has exploited it to an unprecedented degree. The resulting danger was noted last November in a decision of the federal Court of Appeals in Washington, written by Judge J. Skelly Wright:

> The President's extensive use of the media cannot, of course, be faulted, for there can be no doubt that in the distillation of an informed public opinion such appearances play a very basic role. But if the words and views of the President become a monolithic force, if they constitute not just the most powerful voice in the land but the only voice, then the delicate mechanism through which an enlightened public opinion is distilled, far from being strengthened, is thrown dangerously off balance. Public opinion becomes not informed, but instructed and dominated.

Complaints charging Mr. Nixon with "monolithic" use of the television speech have been voiced frequently during the past two years. The President himself has twice cited such charges as a reason for not "dominating television too much"—a reason he has invoked, however, only to justify his avoidance of the televised news conference. Meanwhile, the question of what the fairness doctrine requires in its application to Presidential speeches has been the subject of repeated litigation before the FCC and the Court of Appeals. The results to date have been neither conclusive nor consistent—the FCC's recent reaffirmation of the status quo notwithstanding—and more cases are pending. The outcome will affect not only this year's Presidential campaign but the power of the Presidency and the structure of the national political debate for a long time to come.

The battle began with the one case in which the FCC ruled that Nixon's heavy use of TV speeches did require the networks to provide some sort of comparable opportunity for the opposing point of view. Between November 3, 1969 and June 3, 1970, Mr. Nixon went on prime-time television five times to deliver speeches expressing his views on the war in Indochina. On a complaint filed by an ad hoc group called the "Committee for the Fair Broadcasting of Controversial Issues," the FCC ruled in August 1970 that these appearances required something more than the usual bits-and-pieces presentation of the opposition's viewpoint. Examining the programming cited by the networks as having presented the other side of the war issue, the FCC found that it was "roughly balanced" in general and, in at least one case, "that the balance would slightly favor the Administration side of the issue, without consideration of the five Presidential addresses." The FCC declared:

> The critical consideration thus becomes: Are reasonable opportunities afforded when there has been an extensive but roughly balanced presentation on each side and *five* opportunities in prime time for the leading spokesman on one side to address the nation on this issue? We believe that in such circumstances there must also be a reasonable opportunity for the other side, geared specifically to the five addresses (i.e., the selection of some suitable spokesman or spokesmen by the networks to broadcast an address giving the contrasting viewpoint).

Finding that "all the networks have done something in the area of uninterrupted presentations in covering this issue," but that none had done enough, the FCC required "that at the least, time be afforded for one more uninterrupted opportunity by an appropriate spokesman to discuss this issue. . . ."

The FCC decision, joined in by Chairman Dean Burch and the other Republicans on the commission (while drawing dissents from two Democrats, Robert W. Bartley and H. Rex Lee), produced consternation at the White House. It also soon produced consternation on the part of Chairman Burch himself. This was seen in an extraordinary statement he issued a few days later, attacking specified newspapers and magazines—including some whose owners hold broadcast licenses from the FCC—for the way their coverage had "distorted the substance of the ruling." His remarks were aimed in particular at headlines or stories that might have seemed unfavorable to President Nixon. *The Christian Science Monitor*, for example, was upbraided

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for headlining its story, "Anti-Nixon Time Ordered." Without explaining what was inaccurate about the headline, Burch declared: "I would think that any fair observer would agree that nowhere in this decision is there any statement or implication that 'anti-Nixon' time has been ordered."

Burch's statement was prepared, according to both *The New York Times* and the Washington *Star*, with the aid—and probably at the instigation—of the White House staff. The *Times* report was revealing as to the stakes the White House sees riding on the fairness doctrine controversy: "White House officials, distressed at the suggestion in first reports that the F.C.C. decision would inhibit the President's use of television, worked over the weekend with Mr. Burch's personal staff in follow-up briefings with reporters. The White House expects that the President will still enjoy a favorable balance of TV time, these officials said. . . ." Burch's prior service as chairman of the Republican National Committee might otherwise be discounted as an indication of bias, but after this statement it is difficult to believe he will exclude partisan considerations, especially in an election year, from his handling of FCC matters affecting the political fortunes of President Nixon.

Besides *Committee for Fair Broadcasting*, the FCC in the past two years has decided three other major cases on the application of the fairness doctrine to Nixon TV speeches. None of them could call forth, from even the sloppiest or most biased headline writer, the term "anti-Nixon." In the first decision, also rendered in August 1970, the FCC snuffed out an important move by one network to provide some balance—some semblance of debate—in the discussion of national issues on prime-time television. CBS that summer, in a statement by its president Frank Stanton, had noted the "cumulative impact of broadcast appearances of representatives of the party in office" and "the disparity between Presidential appearances and the opportunities available to the principal opposition party," and had therefore offered twenty-five minutes of free, uninterrupted prime time to the Democratic National Committee for what the network called a "Loyal Opposition" broadcast. The resulting broadcast by committee chairman Larry O'Brien was aired July 7, and the Republican National Committee demanded of CBS equal time to reply. When CBS refused, the FCC ruled that the network was required to provide such time. While the five recent Nixon addresses had focused on the war, O'Brien had been "unresponsive" and discussed other issues as well, the FCC said. His speech was thus "party-oriented" rather than "issue-oriented," and it therefore required equal time for the opposing party, under a special subcategory of the fairness doctrine which in effect applies the equal-time rule to "political party" broadcasts.

The FCC's ruling killed off the "Loyal Opposition" broadcasts, which CBS had said it would run as a regular feature "several times each year." They would have been a far-reaching innovation in national politics. As *Broadcasting* magazine had said of the original CBS announcement: "For the first time, the right of the opposition party to express its views has in effect been institutionalized as an integral part of a broadcast schedule."

It took more than a year for the FCC's decision to be appealed. When the Court of Appeals decided the case, in November 1971, it reversed the FCC with one of the more ringing judicial denunciations of a federal administrative agency in recent memory. In an opinion by Judge Skelly Wright (part of which was quoted above), the court pointed out that while the FCC had limited its consideration of O'Brien's "responsiveness" to the five Nixon speeches on the war, it was "the indisputable fact that the President, personally and through his spokesmen, had extensively expounded the Administration's views in numerous televised presentations which the commission arbitrarily ignored." Also, the FCC's ruling was embarrassingly at odds with a case it had decided in 1968 but had not mentioned this time. In that case, *Wayne Hays,* CBS had granted Republican Congressional leaders free time to respond to a State of the Union address by President Johnson. Democratic Congressional leaders had then demanded equal time to reply, and the FCC had upheld the network's refusal to provide it. The FCC's failure to deal with the *Wayne Hays* precedent was, the court said, "an inexcusable departure from the essential requirement of reasoned decision making." The need for FCC decisions to be "completely free from even the appearance of bias, prejudice and improper influence" is especially great "where, as here, the agency is functioning in the midst of a fierce political battle, where the stakes are high and the outcome can affect in a very real sense the political future of the nation." In a concurring opinion, Judge Edward Tamm concluded that "by giving one political party two bites of the proverbial apple for every one granted to the opposing political party, the commission has taken a role of political interference contrary to all of the teachings of administrative decision making."

But the FCC's decision had stood for fifteen months, and that was enough to bury the "Loyal Opposition" concept. By the time the decision was reversed, the Presidential campaign had begun, and CBS's taste for innovational programming adverse to the Administration's interests had been soured by the battle over *The Selling of the Pentagon*. In more recent disputes CBS, led by Stanton, has been in the forefront of the networks' fight against any suggestion that prime-time speeches by the President should give rise to a comparable opportunity for the other side.

The two more recent cases have involved attempts by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) to apply the *Committee for Fair Broadcasting* precedent to subsequent sequences of television appearances by Mr. Nixon. In the first case, the Democrats sought time to respond to three Nixon TV appearances in March and April of 1971: an interview with Barbara Walters on the *Today* show, the *Conversation with the President* conducted in clubby fashion by Howard K. Smith of ABC, and a speech on the war carried by all three networks. NBC and CBS denied time to respond to any of the programs; ABC provided an hour in which O'Brien and six Democratic Senators presented their views on the war. The FCC's response to the Democrats' complaint was, in the first place, to wait four months before deciding it. Only after the frustrated DNC had gone directly to the Court of Appeals did the commission, on August 20, 1971, issue its decision up-

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holding the networks. The opinion found *Committee for Fair Broadcasting* inapplicable because of the "crucial distinction" that the Presidential broadcasts there had "dealt solely with the issue of the Vietnam war. That fact was essential to our determination that an appropriate response was required. That is not the case here."

The court's decision on appeal, issued February 2, must have caused rejoicing in the White House. In an opinion by Judge Tamm, joined by Judge George MacKinnon and a visiting district judge from Utah, the court not only upheld the FCC's ruling but went even further than the FCC in deferring to the judgment of the networks. "Should the licensee in good faith be satisfied that its broadcasting has created a reasonable balance and opportunity for opposing views to be heard on controversial issues, then there is no prima facie reason for Commission action," the court declared. (It is difficult to imagine a network or station telling the FCC it is not satisfied that its programming has been reasonably balanced.) The court further noted that the DNC, in any event, would not always be the most appropriate spokesman to reply to a Presidential address. Its principal reliance, however, was on an assumption the FCC had not made—that if each Presidential TV address required a comparable opportunity for reply, the result would be to discourage such addresses:

> The President is obliged to keep the American people informed, and as this obligation exists for the good of the nation this court can find no reason to abridge the right of the public to be informed by creating an automatic right to respond in the opposition party. . . . We believe that adoption of this view would only serve to frustrate the ability of the President and the licensees to present authoritative Presidential reports to the public. . . .

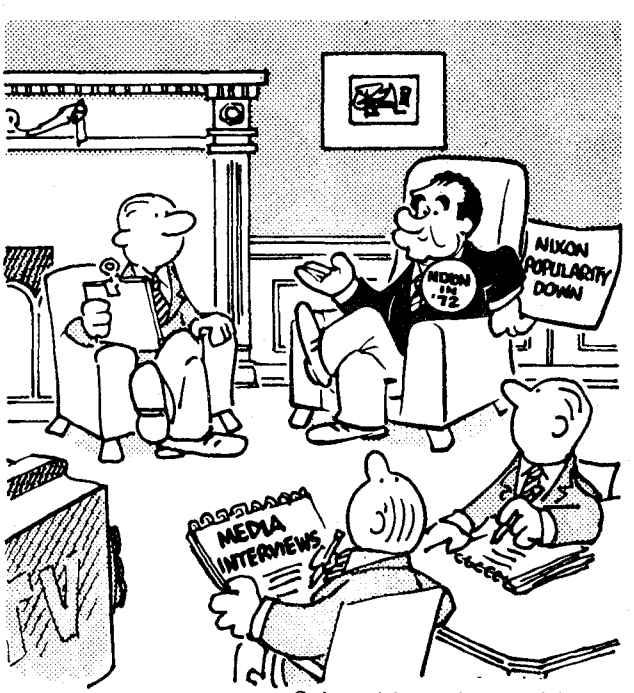
The court did not explain how or why this would come about. There are two possibilities, neither of which seems likely. If the assumption is that the networks would refuse time to the President if they had to air a reply, there is no warrant for such a low opinion of the networks' public responsibility, much less of their receptivity to requests from the President. The Supreme Court in its *Red Lion* decision, upholding the fairness doctrine, made a contrary assumption; it expressed confidence that the doctrine would not have "the net effect of reducing rather than enhancing the volume and quality of coverage." Whatever may be the case in other situations, such confidence seems well grounded when the networks could reduce the volume and quality of coverage only by refusing the request of the President.

The second hypothesis—that the President would be unwilling to address the nation over television if his speech gave rise to a right of reply—seems equally unwarranted. It is unworthy of any President, and in any event it overlooks the value to any President of the opportunity television provides. As the court said, "authoritative Presidential reports to the public" are indeed desirable. But it is the theory of the fairness doctrine, and of the First Amendment, that the public is best informed not by unilateral reports from any source, no matter how "authoritative," but by the clash of opposing views from which the public can form its own judgment. Indeed, in the light of the Pentagon Papers, General Lavelle and so many other experiences of the past decade, the need for expression of an opposing point of view would seem to increase, not decrease, in proportion to the "authoritative" nature of the governmental source and the extent of public attention it commands.

Finally, the court declared: "The burden is, of course, to distinguish between the President qua President and the President in his political capacity. This burden must fall to the commission in ruling on requests such as that filed by DNC." Yet the FCC in its June 22nd ruling has squarely rejected this burden. "For obvious reasons . . . we strongly decline to make evaluations whether a report by an official is 'partisan' or 'political' and thus requires rebuttal by a spokesman for the other party, or the contending faction, or whatever. This would drag us into a wholly inadministrable quagmire."

The FCC is right. If it were possible, appropriate and necessary to distinguish between the official and the political roles of the President, the short-term Presidential appointees on the FCC would be less fit for the task than the lifetime judges on the Court of Appeals. The court's deference to the FCC on the issue thus seems peculiarly misplaced. But in any event the distinction, far from being crucial as the court thought, is irrelevant. Views on controversial issues expressed by the President "qua President" should be no more immune from expression of the other side than the "political" views of the President or the views of anyone else. Perhaps they should be less so. Even the FCC has recognized, at any rate, that speeches by the President on controversial issues are fully subject to the fairness doctrine, irrespective of the distinction put forward by the court.

The most recent case involved a series of TV appearances in which Mr. Nixon, evidently emboldened by the FCC's decision of August 20, 1971, steered daringly close to the facts of *Committee for Fair Broadcasting*, though still taking care not to duplicate them exactly. Between



Graham, Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock)

See Dick Run. Run, Dick, Run.

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August 15 and October 7, 1971, Nixon made four broadcast speeches on his "new economic policy"; two were on TV and radio in prime time, one was on TV and radio in daytime, and one was on radio-only in daytime. Meanwhile, on three occasions from August to November, the President's chief spokesman, Treasury Secretary Connally, held daytime press conferences that were also devoted to the economic program and were televised nationally by all three networks.

Upon the networks' refusal to give the Democrats time to respond, the FCC had to find a rationale different from that of its August 20th decision, since these broadcasts, like those in *Committee for Fair Broadcasting*, had all dealt with a single issue. In a ruling adopted February 3 —one day after, and no doubt encouraged by the Court of Appeals endorsement of the earlier ruling—the FCC was equal to the task. It rejected the DNC's complaint on the basis that "[t]he facts of the present case are obviously different from those in *Committee for Fair Broadcasting*. Rather than five uninterrupted prime-time Presidential appearances on the issue, there were two, plus two such appearances outside of prime time." The opinion went on to dismiss the Connally press conferences—even though "Secretary Connally opened the press conferences with his own statements in support of the Administration's economic policy"—on the basis of the FCC's journalistic judgment that Connally had been "subject in the three press conferences to the same kind of critical questioning that he would have faced on news interview programs." Also, the press conference appearances "were neither uninterrupted nor in prime time." In sum, "the facts of the present case do not correspond to the particular and unusual set of circumstances which caused us to rule as we did in *Committee for Fair Broadcasting*."

In comparing the facts of the two cases the FCC was rather selective. It said nothing about the time spans involved: seven months for the five Nixon speeches in the earlier case, as against less than two months for the four Nixon speeches on the economy, or less than three and a half months for the four Nixon speeches plus the three Connally press conferences. Also, the FCC played it safe this time by refusing to examine the other programming the networks had presented on the issue. (It did request transcripts of the four "specials" the networks had run, but one proved to be heavily pro-Nixon and another irrelevant, so that line of inquiry was dropped.) The reality seems to be that as far as the FCC is concerned, *Committee for Fair Broadcasting* has gone the way of the *Wayne Hays* decision.

The Democrats have appealed from the FCC's ruling on the economic broadcasts, and it will be interesting to see what the Court of Appeals does with the case. Much may depend on which judges are sitting that day. Also interesting is the fact that between January 25 and May 8 of this year Nixon has compiled another string of three prime-time speeches devoted exclusively to the war. He therefore can be expected to avoid making two more such addresses before the seven-month period expires on August 25, lest even the FCC find itself unable to distinguish the case from *Committee for Fair Broadcasting*.

But as long as Nixon avoids an exact duplication of *Committee for Fair Broadcasting*, he and his managers are home free under the presently prevailing decisions on the fairness doctrine. This means that at least through the Republican convention, and very possibly through the election (if Presidential speeches are held exempt from the equal-time law), Nixon can continue to pre-empt prime time to address the nation without concern that his Democratic opposition will have a comparable opportunity to respond.

The court's decision in the case of the broadcasts on the economy probably will not come soon, but in any event it is unlikely to settle much. A reversal of the FCC on the facts of that case would not resolve the basic question of a right to respond to all Presidential broadcasts on controversial issues. Case-by-case determinations in this area can never be satisfactory, if only because of the excessive time it takes to get decisions from the FCC and the court. What is needed, for this year and the future, is a decision of the basic question.

The decision should be in favor of a right to respond. The spokesman for the opposing point of view would not necessarily be, as Judge Tamm assumed, a representative of the opposition political party. While the need for "Loyal Opposition" broadcasts has certainly not decreased since CBS abortively instituted the concept in 1970, the choice of the spokesman to respond to each Presidential address could be left to the network or station. Given the impact of a Presidential speech delivered in prime time over all three networks, it is hard to see how anything less than a similar format on each network can be a "reasonable" opportunity for presentation of the other side, or can be consistent with the fairness doctrine's claimed objective of a "balanced presentation of the opposing viewpoints." The FCC speaks often in these cases of "the robust, wide-open debate on public issues which we believe to be so important," but seems to have a peculiar conception of what "debate" entails. At the least, a right of response to television speeches by the President is needed during an election year.

The FCC in its June 22nd decision, however, has now rejected proposals to recognize a right of reply to Presidential broadcasts under the fairness doctrine. Among other arguments, the commission tries to duck the issue with a far-fetched claim that only Congress can adopt such a proposal. The Democrats can be expected to appeal, so that the Court of Appeals will finally have an opportunity to consider the basic question, though probably too late to affect this year's campaign.

Meanwhile another attack on the FCC's position has emerged. Sen. Harold Hughes and thirteen other members of Congress complained to the FCC on June 15 against the refusal of CBS and ABC to give *or even sell* them time to reply to Nixon's position on the war and discuss Congressional alternatives. (NBC did offer to sell the group fifteen minutes of prime time on June 26 but they could not raise the money; meanwhile Frank Stanton of CBS, erstwhile originator of the "Loyal Opposition" concept, told Hughes not only that CBS had adequately aired the opposition to Nixon's policy through the usual bits-and-pieces approach, but that in any event "the network does not sell time to individuals to present views on controversial issues.") Hughes and his colleagues are arguing that Congress, as a coequal branch, has as much right as the Presi-

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dent to communicate with the people by way of television, and at least the right to buy time to balance what is given to the President.

The Congressmen cannot expect any redress from the present FCC, but they may do better in court. What Chairman Burch and his Nixon majority perhaps ought to consider, as they single-mindedly hold the line against any right of TV access for the President's opponents, is that sooner or later the President to whom their decisions apply may be a Democrat. □

'NEW SPIRIT AT WORK'

THE UNREPORTED CONVENTION

HARRY CHATTEN BOYTE

Mr. Boyte, active in civil rights movements and union and community organizing in the South, has recently published in Radical America *an article entitled "A New Beginning: The Birth of the New American Movement."*

When the founding convention of the New American Movement (NAM) opened in Minneapolis on Wednesday, June 21, no one could quite imagine what would emerge by Sunday, the final day. The NAM is a nationally structured Socialist organization designed to "expand the social base of the Left" and to help create a mass movement for socialism. Over Thanksgiving weekend, it held a program conference in Davenport to define interim work in anticipation of its founding convention in June. [See "Radicals Sober Up: The New American Movement" by Edward Greer, *The Nation,* January 17.]

Since then, months of planning had gone into convention preparation. The National Interim Committee had worked through several drafts of a proposed political statement and constitution, but some committee members themselves had reservations about the final proposals, and a number of other criticisms had circulated among the membership. Moreover, the tasks that the founding convention was to take up, and the problems it had to solve provisionally, seem overwhelming for a four-day conference, given the Left's recent background of organizational chaos: in addition to the enormous work involved in producing a draft political program and constitution, the convention was to address seriously the difficult and complicated questions of the role of women in NAM, the recent experiences of NAM chapters, the question of NAM's relationship to electoral politics this year, and the priority program areas that the original conference at Davenport had created.

But despite the overwhelming schedule and sharp battles on a number of questions, the convention fulfilled its most optimistic goals: it accomplished a large volume of difficult work, sometimes in plenary sessions lasting until 2 A.M., while punctuating its efforts with a mix of playful and serious recreation. It fitted program and political workshops into the interstices of the agenda, with meetings on the war, on sexual politics, on anti-corporate work, on workplace organizing, on racism and on child care running throughout the entire weekend. It integrated new political and strategic insights with concrete perspectives on organizing. And at the end it brought forth a political position and structure that the great majority of participants felt represented an exciting and clear direction for the future tasks of building an American Socialist movement.

The experience of chapters since Davenport had been varied and uneven. Although there had been real organizational growth (thirty-seven chapters were represented at Minneapolis by 263 delegates, compared to twelve to fifteen chapters and 100 delegates at Davenport), in most cases chapters had failed to alter substantially their basically ex-movement, college-educated composition. The expectation of some at Davenport—that if chapters "seriously worked on problems like wage controls, taxes, occupational health, social services that affect ordinary people" the organization would rapidly mushroom into new constituencies—had proven naive. A few chapters, lacking direction, working on projects with no clear results, torn by internal disagreements, had dissolved.

Yet on the whole, the organization had enjoyed steady and solid growth, and had defined itself with increasing precision. The delegates (and 138 observers) who appeared in Minneapolis were less motley than the Davenport assemblage had been. Fewer "youth freaks" were in attendance, and perhaps fewer unionists dropped in for a session or a day. There were far fewer observers in general—300 had attended parts or all of the Davenport meeting. The convention was less a "happening" on the Left than an organizational meeting with specific goals. Yet the gathering did give signs of some increasing diversity of membership: old Socialists and Communists from the twenties and thirties and forties mixed with young people for whom NAM was a first political commitment; New Englanders talked with people from Appalachia and community organizers from the Deep South; people who had been organizing in shop and on assembly lines for years exchanged ideas with people still in school. The average age of the meeting was perhaps 26 or 27. For most, NAM was an organization that offered new promise to transcend their own experiences in the ingrown and often moralistic New Left; almost all had a great investment in its success.

And however intimidating the schedule seemed to those arriving, the office and local members had superbly organized the logistics of the convention; that in itself was a welcome break with New Left tradition. The convention packet distributed to each participant contained a short and readable summary of the parliamentary procedure which the convention was to use; delegates and observers were quickly assigned rooms, told the schedule, given printed, colored cards denoting their particular status.

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And the Minneapolis chapter, which has been deeply involved in child care activities in the city, had organized excellent child care from 9 A.M. to 9 P.M. throughout the convention. The children (twenty-five or thirty came with their parents) became energetically involved in a full schedule of films, trips, arts and crafts and play.

Finally, a special mimeograph room with six typewriters and two mimeograph machines was staffed and busy throughout the convention, turning out proposals and counterproposals, political manifestoes and structural amendments which the convention somehow found time to examine and act upon.

On Wednesday evening and Thursday morning women met separately in plenary sessions and small groups to set the stage for what was expected to be a major focus of the weekend—the synthesis of feminist and Socialist perspectives on a theoretical and programmatic level, and the specific problems of the role of women in NAM itself. The participants soon discovered a variety of experiences and viewpoints among themselves. Some had left the student movement years before, after brutal experience in mixed groups; many had come to NAM through the autonomous women's movement; for both groups participation in NAM was an experiment to be undertaken with some hesitation. On the other hand, a number of women had never left the mixed Socialist movement; some had seen the struggle for socialism as the first priority; some, for a variety of reasons, had felt themselves little oppressed by the broader movement, and their experiences in NAM with other women from different backgrounds opened new perspectives on the women's movement.

From those sessions, and from the panel on sexual politics held on Friday morning, emerged the theses that were to form the core of NAM's position on sexual oppression. Peggy Sommers and Kathryn Johnson presented a paper, "The Political Economy of Sexism," which developed the arguments of Maria Dalla Costa ("Women and the Subversion of the Community," *Radical America,* Vol. 6, No. 1). Sommers and Johnson maintained that women have a specific productive role that is essential to capitalist organization: it is women's function to reproduce the labor supply under capitalism; in the home by bearing and raising children and creating the environment in which men "replenish themselves"; and increasingly in advanced capitalism as the functions of the home are socialized, to fill the social service jobs that reproduce the labor force—schoolteachers, lower-level medical personnel, social workers, et al. The authors held that the sexual division between the roles of "producer" and "reproducer" is essential to the sharp division between the public and private realms of existence under capitalism, and depends absolutely upon the assigned "role of women." Their strategy called for a challenge to such a division as an integral and necessary part of a class movement for socialism, and they gave particular weight to struggles around control of social services and divisions of labor in such services.

The response of the convention to sexual politics represented a major advance over the predominant patterns of the New Left. In the opening plenary session an agenda fight seemed to be in the making when blacks pointed out, quite correctly, that the politics of racism had been almost entirely left out of the agenda, and proposed that half of the day on sexual politics be devoted to discussions of racism. But the conflict that has occurred in so many New Left gatherings, where the "problems of women" and the "problems of blacks" competed for marginal time, was resolved in a different fashion. Women pointed out that months of planning and work had gone into preparation for the discussion of sexual politics. Ed Bolden, spokesman for the relatively small number of blacks, withdrew his motion, and the convention instead structured into its agenda a continuing workshop on racism. Later in the convention the racism workshop proposed and received support for a task force on racism which will develop perspectives on Third World struggles, and structure the next convention to address more adequately NAM's relationship to Third World groups.

Throughout Friday in small mixed groups on sexual politics, men and women talked about the issues that the women's movement has raised. There was by no means universal harmony, but gone was the paralyzing "male guilt," and most men seemed to demonstrate a sensitivity and seriousness about sexual oppression that reflected both a new stage of the movement and the deep commitment of almost all to the creation of a humane and liberating movement for socialism. And such a spirit continued in other contexts. When a political position on "adult chauvinism" was read on the floor, the audience's response was overwhelmingly enthusiastic about the questions it raised; yet the position taken was more suggestive than concrete and analytical, and the convention decided not to include it in the political program (which is not seen as "permanent") but instead to refer it to a task force for development and refinement.

Beginning Thursday and continuing through the weekend in several cases, workshops met around specific program areas. The smaller groups discussed and analyzed chapter experiences in child care, health, the war, sexism, anti-corporate organizing, racism, workplace organizing and occupational health, AT&T, taxation, food cooperatives and social services. It was plain from the discussions that most chapters had begun serious and long-range organizing work, and the problems they raised are those essential to the building of mass movements: questions of tactics, media, strategy that could mobilize diverse constituencies, special skills and knowledge required in mass struggles. Workshops on workplace organizing, the war, anti-corporate organizing and racism all established ongoing task forces to provide a forum for experiences, information and political perspectives. A national women's caucus was also created to publish a newsletter and to continue the dialogue and debate about sexual politics.

On Thursday evening the conference as a whole was treated to a play presented by the Minneapolis chapter and its offshoot, the Mill City Theatre Factory. *The People Are a River,* already presented to enthusiastic audiences of unionists and students and booked far into the future, combined the best of New Left street theatre and political satire in a drama of the people's history

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from the time of the Indians to the revolts of the 1960s. Indians, women in the home, the unemployed, teamsters and loggers, middle-class families were all fused in an exciting depiction of the strength, permanence and dignity of "the people."

Throughout the conference, songs were a constant counterpoint to the intensity of political discussion, blending a sense of history with current humor.

The battles that arose over the political statement were often fierce, and at times it seemed difficult to imagine a document that would have the support of the significant majority of the body. But the same mixture of critical analysis, self-criticism, optimism and seriousness that characterized other parts of the convention ran through all the political discussion from the opening plenary session to the final discussions on Sunday. The opening statement of the National Interim Committee had combined optimism with theoretical and practical criticism of NAM's brief history and its own practice. It outlined many of the problems chapters had faced, discussed the central and continuing problem of finances for the organization, and developed a political perspective for the future that drew on themes from a paper presented to the convention by Sara and Harry Boyte and Bob McMahon ("Class and Culture: Toward a Strategy for a Unified Class Struggle"). The NIC argued that chapters should expand and develop the method of work used during the anti-war activity. Chapters should help organize struggles and re-form existing struggles along class lines, bringing together diverse and now often hostile constituencies (industrial workers, unemployed, welfare victims, housewives, white-collar employees, et al.) on the basis of class programs that sharpen the division between the mass of people and the ruling class. It is in such independent contexts of class polarization, the NIC argued, that Socialist consciousness becomes meaningful and comprehensible to large numbers of people, and NAM should openly and directly put forward a humane Socialist perspective in all such struggles.

Before the convention began it had been clear that the International Socialists, a Leninist group in the Trotskyite tradition active in NAM since its inception, would challenge the NIC's proposed draft statement on two grounds. On the one hand, I.S. disputed the position that gave critical support to the accomplishments of existing Socialist countries. Instead, it stressed an "even-handed" opposition to capitalist and Socialist countries (from Russia to Cuba, China and North Vietnam). On the other hand, I.S. disagreed with the strategy that a broadly defined class movement (including housewives, Third World groups, white-collar and technical workers, the unemployed, as well as industrial workers) would be the necessary social environment for mass Socialist consciousness, and NAM's first priority should be the unification of such constituencies in such a movement against capital. In more traditional Marxist fashion, it held that NAM's central focus should be support for the rank-and-file caucus movement among industrial workers.

The arguments continued for two days, with angry exchanges and eloquent presentations. The I.S. delegates staged a temporary and informal walkout from the floor; Leon Blum, a garment district organizer for the Communist Party in the 1930s, made a stirring speech which criticized bureaucracy in the Soviet Union but maintained that Socialists must recognize and applaud the advances made by the Chinese, Cubans, North Vietnamese—regimes which cannot simply be dismissed as bureaucratic-Stalinist monstrosities. In the end, the political program criticized Socialist countries for suppressing political dissent, maintaining sexual division of production, and oppressing ethnic and cultural minorities, but identified imperialism as the major contradiction in the world, described NAM as "part of the world Socialist movement," and gave critical support for Socialist accomplishments. While recognizing differences among various sectors of the working class, the document called for organizing among all portions of the working population and for a priority effort to create class alliances.

Another axis of debate developed on NAM's relationship to current electoral politics. A motion to prohibit any NAM involvement in Democratic Party politics at any level was defeated, but the thrust of the argument held that all political involvement must reveal the Democratic Party's alliance with capital (as demonstrated by the erosion of even Populist elements from McGovern's program) and must give voice to independent class and Socialist perspectives.

Finally, the convention decided upon a constitution which gives broad initiatory and decision-making power to a National Interim Committee and preserves local chapter autonomy around program development. The Wisconsin Alliance, a farmer-labor group in Wisconsin, moved that associate status for themselves and similar groups be allowed, and the amendment was adopted. The thirteen-member NIC which was elected for the coming year (its work will be reviewed by a representative "National Council" in the winter) on the whole represents new leadership: only two positions are filled by former NIC members and two "half-positions" (two pairs of former NIC members ran for single positions). It combines veterans of the Left with newer participants; academicians with grass-roots organizers. It continues the pattern of the previous NIC on women's participation —six of the eleven positions held by single persons, and three of the four paired representatives are women. On the whole, it is a strong and decisive group and should take clear initiatives within the context of the politics defined at Minneapolis.

The central question facing the New American Movement following its convention is the translation of political perspective and strategy into concrete work. It must test, experiment and learn if it is to succeed in mobilizing diverse constituencies in common battles against a common enemy, and it must be skilled, flexible and decisive if it is to create a strong national Left presence. At the moment, it can be said that NAM represents a "new spirit at work," whose dedication to a qualitatively different future is unshakable, whose capacity for innovation, self-examination and serious work represents a new force on the American Left. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Edmund Wilson, Great Democrat of Letters

GEORGE H. DOUGLAS
Mr. Douglas is now at work on a study of the historical style of literary criticism, concentrating upon writers such as Parrington, F. O. Matthiessen, Van Wyck Brooks, Edmund Wilson and Alfred Kazin.

Some fifteen years ago, upon finishing his book of travel sketches, *Red, Black, Blond and Olive*, Edmund Wilson advised his readers that he was done writing travel books and intended to devote the rest of his life to the one subject on which he ought to be an expert, the one subject which had always been his consuming passion—the life and literature of his own nation and culture. The truth is, of course, that Wilson never really did anything else. Yes, his writing had many sides, and from his pen we have not only literary criticism but travel books, journalism, history, social commentary, plays, novels, even poetry—not all of which seem immediately germane to American life. Still, the most obvious and persistent fact about Wilson's career is that the one thing that occupied him from beginning to end was his ceaseless struggle to understand who and what we are in America. Even the excursions to other lands, even the studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, were undertaken not because they were ends in themselves but because they all somehow dovetailed with Wilson's quest for knowledge and understanding of America. They all aimed to tell us something about ourselves in the middle of the 20th century.

A preoccupation with the American scene, with things American, is not at all unusual for a literary man if we recall what Wilson conceived the function of literature to be. In his well-known essay, "The Historical Interpretation of Literature," written in the 1940s, Wilson told us that the function of literature is to render experience intelligible, to bring orderliness, symmetry to the chaos of events, to cure us of some "ache or disorder," to relieve us of "some obsessive burden of uncomprehended events." And this is true of all kinds of literature from lyric poetry to literary criticism. Wilson, it should be pointed out, unlike certain of his contemporaries, believed that criticism was a department of literature, not a department of philosophy, and the fact that criticism is more discursive than poetry does not necessarily make it any less an art.

Edmund Wilson himself was a historical critic, which means that he found the locus of criticism at the transfusion point between art and experience. In order to know something about literature, you have to know something of the conditions that give rise to it. And by "know" we mean knowledge of intimate particularities, not knowledge of lifeless abstractions. If you have no knowledge of the richness and diversity of the world of immediate experience, then you have no way of understanding (much less interpreting for another person) the literature that comes out of experience.

The literature and experience to which Wilson dedicated himself was American literature, American experience. He stalked American phenomena now from one angle, now from another, but relentlessly he kept after them throughout his long career. As a man endowed with a rich historical imagination, Wilson knew that human experience is not a simple linear process, like a syllogism or a philosopher's argument, but required constantly shifting perspectives. In still another sense, however, in spite of the great diversity of his work, in spite of the often shifting angles of vision, Wilson's determination to remain a critic of American life provided a kind of unity in itself, and lent a certain coloration and flavor to all his writings. And it is mainly the flavor of his work that concerns me at present. Much has been written about the content of Wilson's books dealing with the American scene, but little about his fundamental Americanism, about what Wilson himself drew from the richness of American experience and why he struggled to discover our national identity.

It is best to think of Wilson as something of a relic, a holdover from the early American Republic, with a cast of mind born of that old America which was his instrument for viewing and criticizing our own. In his book of memoirs, *A Piece of My Mind: Reflections at Sixty*, he wrote of himself: "I have lately been coming to feel that, as an American, I am more or less in the eighteenth century—or at any rate, not much later than the early nineteenth." And he told his readers that he planned to withdraw further from the hustle and annoyance of New York, or Boston, or Washington, and spend most of his time in two old-fashioned country towns—Wellfleet, Mass., and Talcottville, N.Y. Of course, he never really retreated into the 18th century, was never foolish enough to believe that the old values could be restored. Nor had he any desire to do so: he was in fact fascinated by and committed to the 20th century. But the old stone house at Talcottville, the values of the 18th century, gave Wilson a vantage point from which to survey his own time.

Wilson's home at Talcottville, which came to him from his mother's family, and in which he died on June 12, was more than just a retreat for Wilson; in fact, it wasn't really a retreat at all, but rather a crossroads, where the 18th century met the 20th. Wilson's forebears, the Talcotts, came to and founded Talcottville for the same reason that Wilson lived there—they were looking for freedom. And Wilson apparently spent all his life looking for his own kind of freedom. In all his writings he was a thoroughgoing democrat, albeit mostly a democrat of the early American type—a lover of liberty. He was a Jeffersonian democrat—perhaps we should say the last real Jeffersonian democrat—for we are all of us today, for want of a better word, Franklin D. Roosevelt democrats, which is to say that we believe freedom is achieved through government, whereas the early Americans were mainly looking for freedom from government. (Many of us, of course, don't like this or that existing administration, but we have a continuing faith in "our" government; we believe that if we turn the present rascals out, the next batch will give us what we want.) For Wilson, as for his upstate ancestors, the most important and valuable kind of freedom is freedom from something—freedom from the king's men or the tax collector in the 18th century; today, freedom from big, unwieldy, impersonal institutions whether of government, business, education, medicine, law. And part of Wilson's genius is that he was one of our most sensitive barometers of the various erosions of freedom we have had to endure in the 20th century.

Of course, it is precisely in his role as spokesman for American democratic traditions that Wilson was most often misunderstood. In the 1920s and 1930s Wilson was very much a part of the liberal movement, and like a great many of the younger writers of the time, flirted with Marxism. In the 1960s, Wilson was often called a conservative—a reprobate Tory, so they said—especially

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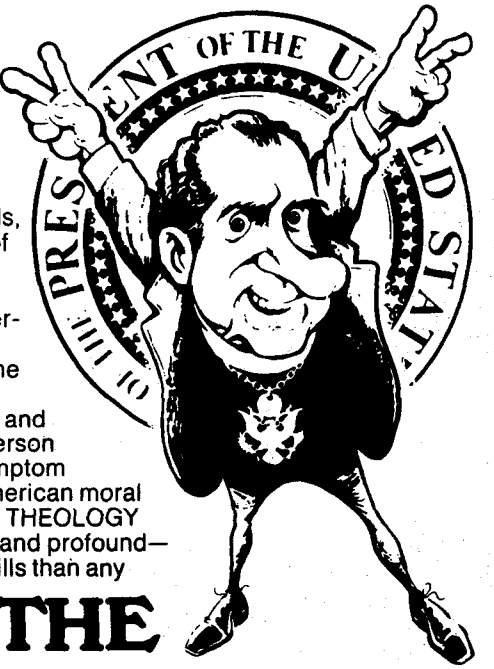
after it became known that he failed to pay his income tax, slandered the workings of the government, and attacked our pursuit of the cold war. But it is obvious that Wilson was no more a conservative in the 1960s than he was a Marxist in the 1930s. For in its most common contemporary usage in America, conservatism is the view that the powers of big government should be reduced so that business, or "free enterprise," has more room to bustle in. But Wilson had not one jot more faith in big business than he had in big government; indeed, like many who were brought up in the Progressive era, he believed that it was the ethics of Wall Street that had destroyed the old Republican America.

As for his infatuation with Marxism, it is interesting to note exactly what it was that drew Wilson to Marxism in the 1930s. It was not so much the content of Marxist ideology that attracted him but the imagination and courage of the Marxist leaders—Marx, Engels, and especially Lenin. I say especially Lenin, because Wilson's admiration for Lenin was based on the great humanitarian and libertarian idealism of Lenin himself, and the fact that he had had the vision, imagination and force of character to break away from a middle-class background which could easily have assured him a comfortable and stable existence. But Wilson was one of the first in the 1930s to see that Lenin's humanitarian ideals were not being fulfilled, that the Soviet experiment was a failure as a democratic movement, and he proclaimed the fact at a time when many of his contemporaries, like Granville Hicks, were holding up Soviet Russia as a model form of government, and even as a wellspring of aesthetic ideas.

By and large, then, Edmund Wilson was an independent thinker over the years. But he always retained his strong faith in our American democratic traditions, even though he found the original dream of the founding fathers foundering in a sea of commercial ethics and impersonal, insensate government. What is important, though, was that this faith pervaded all his work and was not simply a political creed. What Wilson learned from America was that the virtues that abounded in old New York State—geniality, gentlemanliness, commodiousness, familiarity with one's neighbors and ease of communication—are the only ones on which we can really rely. Talcottville was Wilson's spiritual center of gravity because it was, or had once been, a self-contained community; one earned one's own bread from the land, one lived among people with whom one could speak freely and openly; one needed no lawyers, no real estate dealers, no tax gatherers, no do-gooders, no welfare agents—and if such arrived on the scene one could (in the 18th century at least) push on to the next frontier. But above all, those you needed to keep you going were right there and you could talk to them on any pleasant day—if you were of a mood. (One has no difficulty understanding Wilson's implacable hatred of our present-day Internal Revenue Service with its Kafkaesque remoteness and inaccessibility.) Everybody was on the same level; if you had need of the services of the doctor you would find that though his technology was meager, his humanity was great, and you could understand everything he said, because he would be talking to you, not at you.

Simplicity of communication, the common humanity of language—these were the most essential parts of Wilson's democratic faith, and, as I have said, they extended not merely to political and social matters but to all his intellectual activities. Just as he believed that government must be held in suspicion when it got much more complex than that of Jefferson's Cabinet meetings, where matters of state were decided while nuts were being cracked in front of the fireplace and the madeira was being passed around, so he believed that his own field of literary criticism ought to be simple and democratic too. The critic must direct his words to the ordinary person,

God is an American and Nixon is his prophet.



Blasphemous as it sounds, it is the unspoken belief of many Americans, says theologian Charles P. Henderson, Jr. This lingering "God's on our side" attitude is what permits the President to pursue his policies of brinkmanship and the grand gesture. Henderson thus views Nixon as a symptom rather than a cause of American moral imperialism. THE NIXON THEOLOGY is a far more disturbing—and profound—appraisal of our political ills than any pseudo-psycho-analytical condemnation of "Tricky Dickie." $6.95

THE NIXON THEOLOGY

by Charles P. Henderson, Jr.

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to his fellow citizens; he must write always with the educated general reader, not the co-specialist in mind. Where writing is concerned, Wilson, although he may well have been something of a patrician and a curmudgeon, was far from being an intellectual elitist, as many of those who composed his obituaries insisted, but rather was a man who spoke and wrote in the common idiom.

Wilson always thought of himself as a general man of letters, as a public critic. This is why he avoided and often attacked some of the kinds of academic criticism that came into vogue in the 1940s and 1950s—the New Criticism, for example, with its belief, at least implied, that criticism should be a private preserve of the academy, or at least of the academic mind. The idea that criticism, or any form of literature, should be a private preserve offended Wilson's democratic sensibilities.

Wilson's distaste for academic criticism had a long history, and is expressed most pointedly in "Mr. More and the Mithraic Bull," one of the most beautiful and polished American essays, and in his later, " 'Miss Buttle' and 'Mr. Eliot,' " in which he explains the insidious attraction of the poetry of T. S. Eliot for English professors. What the professor is looking for, said Wilson, is something small in bulk, but stuffed with obscure symbols and references that provide just the right kind of material for a safe little article in one of the learned journals to which only a few have access. This kind of criticism Wilson likened to Talmudic *pilpul,* the "method of rabbinical exegesis by which the criterion of excellence came to consist in the degree of farfetchedness that could be compassed by subtle argument."

What struck Wilson about academic criticism, and offended him so as a public man of letters, was the comparative uselessness of so much of it. (There was a wide streak of Yankee utilitarianism and earthy practicality in Wilson.) This is a point made quite forcefully in a little book written near the end of his life, *The Fruits of the MLA*, a book which irritated a number of readers but which, at least by reflection, says a great deal about Wilson's conception of the role of the literary critic in society. Here again, too, we feel the full force of Wilson's democratic propensities.

For a number of years Wilson had had a project of publishing major American classics in an easily accessible form, such as that of the thin-paper *Editions de la Pléiade* of France or the *Scrittori d'Italia* of Italy. What he wanted were inexpensive, convenient, compact, well-edited volumes for the general reader. However, his original plans to produce such a series were thwarted by the Modern Language Association, which had a project of its own that whisked away the funds set aside for Wilson's project by the National Humanities Endowment.

The brouhaha over the idea of having an edition of the American classics for the general reading public began with an article by Lewis Mumford in the *New York Review of Books* in 1967, which objected to a new edition of Emerson's *Journals* put out by the Harvard University Press because "it included too much material which Emerson had left directions to destroy and . . . presented this material in a totally unreadable text, the editor of which, by resorting to no less than twenty diacritical marks, had made it look like something between an undecoded Morse message and a cuneiform inscription."

The projects of the MLA, the organization which Wilson claimed had adopted his idea in name but not in spirit, are shown to display some of the same kind of scholarly preoccupation. One of the projects he describes is a text of William Dean Howells' *Their Wedding Journey*. Why did the MLA spend an exceedingly large amount of money publishing this first—very poor—novel of Howells at all? "What, especially, is the point of reprinting it with thirty-five pages of textual commentary which record the variations of nine of the existing texts?" Why must we be given spelling variations of all the texts? Or why does the editor trouble himself to paste into the volume excerpts of Howells' travel writings from his diaries that were not made use of in the composition?

"What on earth," asks Wilson, "is the interest of all this? Every writer knows how diaries and articles are utilized as materials for books, and no ordinary reader knows or cares. What is important is the finished work by which the author wishes to stand." Which brings us back again to the matter of public usefulness. Wilson freely admits that scholarly exercises of this sort may have some usefulness to Ph.D. candidates who may find the work somewhat valuable in the writing of a thesis, but in every other way they are quite useless. For the general reader—and Wilson as a man of humane learning puts the general reader in the forefront of his thinking—they have no interest whatsoever.

Furthermore, projects of this sort may be harmful in other ways—at least they are harmful in that they keep literature out of the hands of the reader. Several of the projects of the MLA are to be drawn out over many years, with the result that the reading public will not have access to them for a long time to come. Most of the volumes are too expensive for the ordinary reader. Many of them are monstrosities of the bookmaker's art. (The fourth volume of the Centenary Edition of the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne is, says Wilson, a good example of MLA bad bookmaking—the book weighs 9 pounds, and is 2⅜ inches thick, printed on heavy grayish paper.) In a world where resources are scarce and priorities must be ordered, the MLA has thus squandered funds that ought to have been used to get the great American classics into the hands of the reading public.

But above all, most of these projects manage to take the joy out of reading, and instead of serving to bring American literature to the ordinary reader, they shunt it off to a corner to be used only by literary scholars according to their own cheerless ways. For Wilson the first thing to do with books is to enjoy them—scholarship is only a valuable contribution to literature if the scholar has first loved books, loved the appearance of them, loved the human juices that are inside them.

Not, of course, that Wilson is categorically condemning scholarly activities, such as the scrutinizing of variants. But one must exercise some judgment, some discretion, and not be caught up in the false belief that there is some magic in the machinery of scholarship as an end in itself.

For there is none, and this was Wilson's main grievance against much modern literary criticism: it is not gentlemanly, it is not discriminating, and it is not humane; judgments that can doubtless be extended to academic fields beyond that of literature. All of the major academic disciplines in fact have their

FINGERS ARE

Fingers are easy she said,
I've made tens of them.
Regard my grandson's—
soft, nubby, mild, a hero's . . .
But the now careful boy
uses them for tears.

Cassandra, she said, be soothed,
Rest your teeming head
against my almond womb,
It remembers you.
A man's flesh is this too,
so will his, for women are kings.

Know when he touches
he is not bronze, not pitiless,
But has kissed your brother Hector
in his one way—
Search him another,
Search the source of the blood
before it flows.

John Butman

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counterparts of the MLA as well as their professional jargon and scholarly mumbo-jumbo; most kinds of scholarship also have in common an inability to weigh, to judge, to question the value of their own work as part of the larger human framework. Scholarship is academic rather than humane, elitist rather than democratic, when it refuses to call the fruits of its own labor into question, refuses to let in light from the outside, allows no air of humor or playfulness to fall on its privately held subject matter, refuses to believe that learning belongs to humanity, rather than solely that side of it that has been set apart in accordance with certain somewhat self-serving rules of professional competence.

Wilson's views on the nature and obligations of literary criticism, expressed in numerous books and articles, are both peculiarly American and peculiarly democratic in character. For Wilson much recent criticism has a strong aristocratic tendency (in the worst American sense), a hankering after exclusiveness, a strong desire to hoard the private subject matter, and these leanings are no less reprehensible in the intellectual realm than in the political or economic realms. Writing, to be worth anything, must be a free and open offering to society. And even if it is obvious that not all members of society can appreciate the fruits of literary scholarship, one must write as if they could. One must write as if there were a single general language to which all of the educated public can respond—not a series of fractured cultures each with its arcane subject matter, that is, a series of micro cultures where English professors speak only to other English professors, philosophers to other philosophers, and so on.

Again, this in no wise makes criticism a simple act of popularization. Wilson's own literary scholarship and critical skills were as rigorous and as thorough as that of the academic professionals. In the end the difference between the two kinds of criticism—humane and academic—is one of expression, communication, language. The true critic is one who can talk with his fellow man. Which is another way of saying that the heart of criticism is art—poetry in the broadest sense. He who has the gift of tongues, who can speak to his fellow man because he has taken the full breadth of humanity as his subject matter, will alone have an honest and democratic outlet for his writing.

Edmund Wilson was such a man. He was not only an imaginative writer of the first rank but a great democratic idealist, and a spokesman for liberal learning in the best old sense. And the combination of these virtues produced for us a remarkable body of work which is sure to remain one of the great contributions to American literature of the 20th century. □

Making the Parties Represent Us

CRITICAL ELECTIONS AND THE MAINSPRINGS OF AMERICAN POLITICS. *By Walter Dean Burnham. W. W. Norton & Co. 210 pp. $6.50.*

ROBERT M. ENTMAN
Mr. Entman is a National Science Foundation Fellow in the Department of Political Science at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill).

The Presidential candidacy of George McGovern under the Democratic Party banner may lead to more than just a new President. It could reshape the course of American electoral politics for the next generation. Walter Burnham's excellent book tells why and how this might happen, while predicting, wrongly I think, that it can't.

This seems paradoxical until one examines the two dominant themes of *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. The first describes certain key national elections which have over the years of American history set the flow of politics in new directions for long periods of time. These "critical elections," such as those of 1896 and 1932, take place about every generation, after unresolved tensions in the political and socio-economic scene build to a point where only significant policy and leadership departures can maintain the system in good health.

Burnham describes in detail the history and operation of this crucial electoral process, but his second main theme is that the American party system may now have degenerated to a point where a critical election that relieves tension and stimulates policy innovations is impossible. The consequences he perceives are dire, but perhaps there is room for greater optimism than the author feels, for the 1972 election and McGovern's nomination may present an opportunity, unforeseen by Burnham and most other analysts, for a new injection of responsiveness into the party system.

Burnham defines a critical election as one in which the party loyalties of unusually large numbers of voters are

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LAST NIGHT I HATED THE SMELL

Last night I hated the smell:
you stank like a rained-out haystack.
Tonight I like it all:
dry-root like baby's skin
or sewer-pipes;
I like you
as your tongue
licks my dry hand.

Rudolf Wittenberg

changed; there is a "realignment" of the lines of partisanship with lasting effects. An example would be the 1896 election, which saw Populism permanently defeated (at least until now) as a major force in American national politics, and the beginning of the long period of Republican domination of the White House. That hold was not relinquished until the next critical election, in 1932, when many people voted Democratic for the first time, forging the New Deal coalition which helped the Democrats control the government (not counting the aberration of war hero Eisenhower) for the next generation.

Critical elections take place in what Burnham calls "eras of critical realignment." In many ways, his description of these periods depicts the American situation at the present time:

> . . . Eras of critical realignment are marked by short, sharp reorganizations of the mass coalitional bases of the major parties . . . are often preceded by major third-party revolts which reveal the incapacity of "politics as usual" to integrate much less aggregate, emergent political demand: are closely associated with abnormal stress in the socio-economic system; are marked by ideological polarizations and issue distances between the major parties which are exceptionally large by normal standards. . . .

Each of these characteristics appears to be present today. There has been a good deal of speculation about a "new majority" emerging from a combination of elements of the disintegrating New Deal ethnic coalition and affluent suburban residents with such traditional Republican groups as businessmen and farmers. With McGovern's candidacy, however, the change in "mass coalitional bases" may not take exactly the form predicted by previous pundits. McGovern showed in the primaries the ability to attract many discontented suburbanites and members of ethnic minorities as well as the new constituency of the young and the poor.

The 1968 third-party revolt of George Wallace and his surprisingly wide national appeal then and this year was indeed a symptom of the failure of either party to respond to grievances felt by a substantial segment of the population, and other candidates have obviously taken notice. The socio-economic system has been under stress for several years. Not only unemployment and inflation but the growing inability of middle- and lower-middle-class families to make ends meet has great potential political significance. The appeal of both McGovern's and Wallace's calls for tax reform bears witness to this.

Finally, with McGovern's candidacy, we may see a real match between differing ideologies. Nixon represents the intelligent use of pragmatic public policy ultimately to preserve and extend the status quo; as such he symbolizes much of the traditional American value structure of individualism, reliance on private enterprise, and so forth, in spite of his dramatic initiatives in foreign policy and the domestic economy. McGovern, though he has been "moving closer to the Center," still offers a vision of substantial change in America's role abroad and in government's role at home.

But while we are in a period which exhibits the symptoms of being ripe for realignment, Burnham is deeply pessimistic about the possibilities for such a restructuring to take place because of the state of disrepute and irresponsibility into which political parties have fallen. To understand this, one must first comprehend the vision of party responsibility, rarely articulated nowadays, which Burnham holds: ". . . political parties . . . can generate countervailing power on behalf of the many individually powerless against the relatively few who are individually—or organizationally—powerful. . . . Parties [are] the primary channel through which mass opinion is articulated. . . ."

Parties have done this historically by serving as citadels of electoral power which, after the jolting effects of a critical election in a turbulent era of realignment, have forced significant changes in public policy. The New Deal is the prime, and most recent, example.

Now, Burnham feels, we are in an epoch in which the parties have been so indistinguishable for so long that they have lost the ability to command the mass loyalty which is essential for marshaling electoral power. This "politics without parties," Burnham feels, could, if it continues,

> . . . only entail the unchallenged ascendancy of the [powerful] unless new structures of collective power were developed to replace [parties] . . . . This contingency, despite recent publicity for the term "participatory democracy" seems precisely what is not likely to occur under at least immediately conceivable circumstances in the United States. . . . Public policy would generally tend [therefore] to be as system-maintaining or "conservative" for its time as was that of the 1920's for that time, even though punctuated . . . by fire-brigade rescue operations.

This is clearly a generally accurate description of our two remarkably similar and noncompetitive parties, and the reelection of Nixon could prove Burnham right about the inability of parties (really the Democratic Party) to aggregate enough electoral power to create a policy-changing critical election. Yet the unanticipated invigorating effect of the party reforms and the nomination of McGovern provides the Democrats with one last chance, if they would but grasp it.

Burnham is probably right in viewing "the crisis of our time" as "at bottom the crisis of traditional Lockean ideology and institutions in an age marked by their increasingly obvious irrelevance to the policy choices at hand." And it is certainly true that in the final analysis, Nixon, his diplomatic showmanship and economic "fire-brigade rescue operation" notwithstanding, represents the Lockean, old-fashioned American values.

The Democrats therefore have a golden opportunity, if I read Burnham right, having nominated a man who from all evidence has realized the irrelevance of much of traditional American Lockean individualism. The Democratic Party can gather the electoral strength of the many who are discontented with the general direction of things, educate them as to the reasons for their disenchantment, and promise a real change. In so doing Democrats can create a realigning election which will save the country from the political stagnation that Burnham fears, and at the same time probably insure for themselves another generation of control of government.

If, on the other hand, Democratic politicians force McGovern to move too far to the Center, the voters will again be faced with Tweedledum and Tweedledee and the chance for a Burnham-like stabilization of citizen identification with the party will be gone. Nixon will probably win in that case, and the possibility of a solid critical realignment favoring the Democrats will be all but lost for the foreseeable future.

Though it has received less than the wide attention it richly deserves, *Critical Elections* is one of those rare books of academic political science which can actually help us understand important political events, such as, in this case, the 1972 election.

While Burnham's writing is sometimes a bit ponderous, especially for those outside academia (we on the inside are used to tolerating much, much worse), *Critical Elections* is almost always fascinating and a valuable tool for under-

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standing the political situation today. The general reader might want to skip the middle few chapters, which are devoted to specific historical case studies and tend to be a bit complicated methodologically, and concentrate on the first two and last three chapters; but there is substance in the middle as well.

Setting aside his academese, the only criticism I would make of Burnham, who is professor of political science at Washington University in St. Louis, would be on the score of his pessimism, which is almost unrelieved. Perhaps if he had been writing with knowledge of the recent primaries and McGovern's nomination, he would have had more hope. Certainly Burnham's writing the book at all shows he must harbor some faith in the possibility that the realigning process which he analyzes might save the day once again.

Now all that remains (well, maybe not *all*) is for old Democrats like Richard Daley and George Meany to read and heed the lessons of Burnham's analysis. Then Democrats, and leftists and liberals of all stripes, might have cause for the first bit of optimism in years about things political. □

Nicanor Parra's Hard-Edged Poetry

EMERGENCY POEMS. *By Nicanor Parra. Translated by Miller Williams. New Directions Publishing Corp. 160 pp. $8.75. Paper $2.75.*

DAVID H. ROSENTHAL
Mr. Rosenthal is a poet, teacher and translator. His first book of poems will be published shortly by Barlenmir House.

Nicanor Parra can write stark and beautiful poetry. He seems to be performing, on Spanish, somewhat the same operation that was earlier done on the English language by writers like Williams and Hemingway, trimming away the excess accumulations of "literary tradition," in order to re-establish the intimate connection of sounds and things. At the same time, Parra is, simply, another possible mode of consciousness in Latin American verse. Alongside Neruda's eloquence and Vallejo's daring, we also have the abrasiveness of Parra. The following is from "I Wake Up at Dawn":

excommunicated for smelling bad
and look out the one-eyed turret
the blood of a scruffy moon
is dripping
into a snow-filled garden

and then the foreman's voice:
get up you dumb shits
you're supposed to be through breakfast
already!

It is not just abrasiveness that distinguishes Parra from most of the Spanish-language poets one reads in this country. He is also an international voice of our moment. If he has roots in some folk culture, it doesn't show up in *Emergency Poems*, which are the kind of bare-bones statements one might expect to find in postwar European verse. This is partly a matter of Parra's flat style.

Not counting
The twenty million missing
How much do you think the deification of Stalin
Came to in cold, hard cash.

But it also has to do with his attitude toward the things he writes about.

We act like rats
in spite of the fact that we're gods
spread our wings a little
and we'll look human
but we prefer to go on all fours

Or, speaking of his own nation, Chile:

We think we're a country
the truth is we're barely a landscape.

Parra is not a "revolutionary" writer, at least in the inspirational sense. His poetry is often weary and sarcastic, filled with gloomy wisdom. In fact, the sarcasm is often too easy, the epigrams —such as the one about Chile—too shallow under their scorn. Or too suggestive of a kind of bourgeois grumbling that reveals, most of all, boredom with the self. In modern European poetry, this mood of petulance and generalized distaste has become the conventional way of looking at the world, so much so that poets almost assume such a mood to be an essential part of what "poetry" is. In Parra's own culture (or in the United States) this has not been so overwhelmingly the case. And his earlier collection, *Poems and Antipoems*, though at least as harsh as *Emergency Poems*, never seemed to be less than passionately involved with the human race and its prospects. In *Emergency Poems* the anger is still there, but it sometimes lacks depth.

I would have spared that priceless life
if it had been up to me
but how is Death who doesn't respect
Tom

George McGovern:

We challenge you to read this book before committing America to another Vietnam in the Middle East. Your reputation is based on searching beyond official pronouncements. Israel and the Arab oil kingdoms have had no difficulty getting a hearing in Washington—not so with the Palestinians. A new policy means listening to the people—not just at home, but around the world.

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A Report TO OUR READERS

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We want to thank those of you who responded immediately. Your concern has been encouraging and has allowed us to renew a good number of subscriptions that librarians regretfully had to drop. Their grateful letters are heartwarming indeed.

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going to respect Dick, Harry, or Whatever-his-name-is?

Nevertheless, Parra can still be a powerful writer. One of the most successful pieces in *Emergency Poems* is "I Uncork Another Bottle," in which he gracefully dismantles the routines of modern life, first by flexing his imagination,

I stretch a leg
it could just as well be an arm
I fold an arm
it could just as well be a leg

and then by getting down to the serious implications of what he's done.

I start to get out of my sweater
at this moment the telephone rings
they call me from Mrs. Office
I'm going to keep dancing I tell them
until they give me a raise

The light-footed elegance of this progression, and its mixture of whimsy and bitter knowledge, are like Charlie Chaplin's subversive moments.

This poem (and a few others, like "I Wake Up at Dawn"), is closely tied to the common experience. It is when Parra speaks with his own voice, as an "intellectual," that he sometimes falls prey to the literary maladies glanced at here. At other times, he is still as direct as ever. □

Shards of Shavian Paradox

SHAW—"THE CHUCKER-OUT": A Biographical Exposition and Critique. *By Allan Chappelow. AMS Press. 558 pp. $15.*

BRENDA MADDOX

Mrs. Maddox is an American journalist on the staff of The Economist *of London; she writes about American affairs and about communications.* Beyond Babel, *her book on problems raised by the new communications technology, will be published this fall by Simon & Schuster.*

A chucker-out is a bouncer and that is how George Bernard Shaw saw himself—an intellectual roughneck who threw out the stale ideas and false illusions of a smug society. But was he a good one?

So far, the passage of time has done little to clarify the position of Shaw as polemicist and social reformer. What is one to make of the torrent of essays, letters to the editor, tracts, sermons and speeches with which Shaw argued his views on society, politics, sex and literature? They are still full of inconsistencies to which Shaw seemed indifferent.

On the one hand, Shaw preached equality of income. On the other, he lived as a country squire, drove hard bargains with publishers and producers of his literary works and maintained that only 5 to 10 per cent of the population was intellectually fit to govern. He was in favor of feminism but cool toward sex. He believed in marital fidelity and the sanctity of his own apparently chaste marriage but was not above engaging in a protracted and teasing correspondence with a young literary woman who persisted in writing him love letters. He opposed punishment for criminals but advocated execution for lunatics.

To say that Allan Chappelow's book deepens rather than resolves the contradictions in Shaw is not to detract from it. Mr. Chappelow has taken a remark of Shaw's to heart: "I would rather . . . have a collection of Shakespeare's washing bills and tailor's bills, or a verbatim report of what he said at rehearsal than fifty essays on Hamlet." Already he has done one excellent book on "Shaw the Villager." Now he has combed the British Museum, Shaw's own documents and the notebooks of Shaw's contemporaries to make a collection of evidence of Shaw's views which might otherwise have remained inaccessible or even been lost.

The assorted documents make fascinating reading. There are his printed postcards on which he sent out stock replies to his relentless correspondents. There are his wills and also—most welcome—an extract from *The Times* law report on the High Court judgment in 1957 which found that the trusts set up by Shaw, so that the proceeds of his estate should be used to reform the English alphabet, were invalid. (That judgment came just as the success of the musical, *My Fair Lady*, began to pour money into the estate which had been largely in the red until then.) And then there are—the bulk of the book—formal statements by Shaw on socialism, education, war and peace and others of the great themes of his life and his plays. These are disappointing.

On October 30, 1931, in Holborn (a district of London just south of Bloomsbury) at a meeting of the City Temple Literary and Debating Society (a forum for unconventional ideas), Shaw delivered what Chappelow presents in his book as "Shaw's finest speech." Its title was "On Christian Economics," and it appears not to have been printed in its entirety before. To Chappelow, it reveals "the fundamentally religious—rather than Marxist or secular—basis of his [Shaw's]

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socialism and political views generally."

Perhaps. The speech can also be read to reveal Shaw as utopian to the point of despair, witty to the point of nonsense, and illogical to the point of irresponsibility.

Shaw began by saying that Christianity did not exist (and had in fact been destroyed by the Crucifixion). Then he laid down three conditions that would have to be met if Christianity ever were to be adopted: (*1*) that society would have to give up revenge; (*2*) that citizens would have to give "no thought for tomorrow—that is, you will have to go in for communism"; and (*3*) that people would have to begin believing that God was within them and that therefore they were each in a small way responsible for all around them. So far so good.

But then, and quite a bit before as well, he wandered into anecdote and illustration and funny lines and cockeyed ideas such as that once equality of income were achieved you would widen the area of sexual selection and breed a better human race. ("We are waking up to the fact that we are a very poor lot of people: we are not good-looking; I am sorry to be personal, but we are not," and so forth.) He does bring the speech to a climax with some majesty:

> There is no hope for you in Democracy; there is no hope for you in economic reform; there is no hope for you in mere economic socialism, or mere economic anything else. You must develop your spiritual life, and your spiritual determination. . . . It may mean this, and this is my last word. We talk about the superman; and we think that perhaps by some means humanity will improve; and a better sort of man will come.

Shaw, in other words, did not believe in improving society through political change. He saw the only hope to lie in a spiritual change of heart in each individual—a prospect he admitted to be unlikely. Thus he saved himself the bother of thinking out the prosaic details of his proposed reforms, such as equalizing incomes. Someone in the City Temple audience apparently pressed him on this point, asking him the usual question: How are we to get people to undertake difficult, dangerous, unhealthy and disgusting tasks without the pressure of poverty or the lure of extra income? And Shaw dodged the question, not neatly but brazenly: "You need not be afraid—things which are needed to be done in this world will be done by men because they are needed to be done."

And so it goes. Shaw did his causes little good and seemed not to understand them. His passion for reforming the English alphabet was based on the amount of labor involved in writing the superfluous letters by hand. He gives no hint of awareness that authors, as well as stenographers, could use typewriters. And even in this case, dearest to his heart, he was willing to destroy his argument for the sake of a good line. He scolded Robert Bridges for suggesting that the word "that" be spelled "thatt" so that it would more clearly suggest its pronunciation.

> It seems at first that the time lost by writing *tt* instead of *t* is negligible; but this depends on the number of times you have to write it. Just count the number of *t*s I have had to write since I began this article. . . . Add all the *t*s in all the books, letters and documents of every sort that are being written during the current 24 hours. The figure becomes monstrous. . . . Bridges was proposing, not the expenditure of a fraction of a second of time, but the cost of a war.

Shaw was too witty and too Irish to be an efficient polemicist. Oddly enough, of all the beliefs which he professed so vehemently in the first half of this century, that which seems least cranky and contradictory today is his view of women. He called attention to the tortures of forced feeding inflicted on the suffragettes, and to the possibility that marriage was a form of legal prostitution. Yet he seems not to have realized that *Pygmalion* would help revolutionize social attitudes toward women, not phonetics. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

The Guggenheim Museum is showing its collection of Kandinsky (less the sixty-three oils and thirty-three watercolors that have been sold for income in the past eight years). The exhibition, like almost every one-man show there, is hung chronologically with the usual sequence of early work at the top of the spiral and later work divulged below. Chronology is a good factual way of arranging data because it minimizes external interventions in the subject under inspection. Books and catalogues about artists are frequently most usable when they follow this form, but it is pointless though common to make all exhibitions of original objects subject to this kind of presentation. When works of art are arranged successively there are two possible losses. First the sense of a painting's *thereness*, as a made physical object, is reduced because it is always seen as a step, from the past to the future, both of which are simultaneously present. The evolutionary flow is undoubtedly a real factor, but it should not override other values. (Incidentally, there are little arrows on the labels at the Guggenheim which point not to the picture described but to the *next* one.) Secondly, the sense of the *oeuvre*, of the artist's work as a whole, is dissipated among internal periods. It is the latter that happens to Kandinsky.

In addition to the sense of excessive thrust in one direction, this collection of original works has been presented on the level of an art appreciation slide lecture. Notices key the visitor with directions for looking: "Between 1907 and 1911 the expressive component in Kandinsky's work is on the increase. Deliberate distortion and intensification mark this phase." Later: "A tightening of the free organic form is achieved by the introduction of geometric elements." And again, of the late work: "The result is a summary style—a synthesis." These nudges to the viewer, presumably viewed as discharging the institution's educational obligations, constrict the possibility of

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seeing and reacting to what is there. The instructions are lame, flat and mechanical, ridiculous schemata that express a Mickey Mouse view of artistic development and pictorial composition.

Kandinsky has been overperiodized—not that he did not take his art through diverse phases but that the acts of critical analysis have left the *oeuvre* segmented. Early, middle and late are characterized usually in terms of their differences from one another. In fact, there are unifying features in the different periods which are more interesting now than the long-settled succession of periods. For example, a high level of visual intricacy characterizes all his paintings. Forms small in scale compared to the total area of the picture plane are always presented in interpenetrating bundles of diverse shape. Similarly Kandinsky conceives of color not as something to be prolonged but as something brief and recurrent. His space is always open and illusionistic with the picture plane partially dematerialized. Thus it can be said that the internal formal hierarchy changes little in its organic, geometric or biomorphic phases. The biomorphs that appear in the Paris period, for instance, were smoothly assimilable to the geometric inventory of forms Kandinsky already used. From some points of view the difference between curved lines and straight lines does not count. His early so-called "free" forms were as carefully designed as the supposedly "precise" later forms.

Kandinsky is always garrulous, meandering, lavish, with dizzy visual axes and colliding bits. In the absence of a unifying view of his art as a whole, the Art Deco potential of Kandinsky is obvious at present in his constellations of little forms doing acrobatics. This circus effect is the result of his retention of gravity in the arrangement of signs in Abstract paintings in which gravity is dispensable. Rose Carol Washton has discussed (in *Artforum*, June) Kandinsky's use of "the hidden image" in his early Abstract work, his holding on to "reference points for the external world." The plenitude of nature and the complex spectacle of things in the world remained the basis of his abstracted forms all his life. He remained addicted to "small pleasures," to use the title of an early painting, despite his cosmic ambitions for his art.

Kandinsky looks as he does now partly because of the high level of unification that we are accustomed to in the format of later Abstract painting. Monochrome painting and single images identified exactly with the whole surface of the painting intervene between us and Kandinsky's diagrammatic profusion. When Kandinsky does use a dominant color (blue in "Levels," 1929, yellow in "Pronounced Rose," 1932) diverse and piquant small forms still pop up like tiny tropical fish. The furry texture produced by sand mixed with the paint, combined with a pale tonality, takes some of Kandinsky's later paintings, such as "Blue World," 1934, toward a more comprehensive unity than usual, but never to the point where internal activity is quelled or still.

The way in which he sustained his complex formality through the variations of his development is more interesting now than another sight of the familiar parade of periods. It is the wholeness of the artist that ought to have been the subject of a Kandinsky exhibition in 1972. The Guggenheim Museum is to be blamed for giving less thought to the intellectual content of this exhibition than it gave to timing the selling off of parts of the collection. The catalogue of "Kandinsky at the Guggenheim Museum," which costs $6, is similarly inadequate. It illustrates everything, but the reproductions are small and the pages large, so that great white margins are conspicuous. It is only a picture book, containing no comparative or iconographical information, though the staff has been working on the collection for years. A few of the Kandinskys are documented in the catalogue of "Selections from the Guggenheim Museum Collection, 1900-1970," but the bulk of the corpus is uncatalogued.

In *The Nation* (July 24) I wrote about "Chicago Imagist Art" to say that this show originated by the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, would be at the New York Cultural Center (until August 27). I was wrong: it cannot be seen there, or at least what can be seen there is not worth seeing. The show has been slashed, so that what took up two large floors in Chicago occupies one small one in New York. It is impossible to get any idea of the art of Chicago from the incoherent fragments that remain. If Mario Amaya, the director, could not allocate more space to the show he should not have taken it to abuse it. Or, he should have concentrated on one of the generations, the first Expressionist group or the third Hairy Who group. As it is, the chief effect of the show will be to delay any other institution's covering the art of Chicago seriously.

In addition, as at the Guggenheim, the hanging raises difficulties. The compressed work of three generations of artists has been subject to a brutally visual hang. I mean by this that paintings have been placed according to the patterns they make on the wall, regardless of their style. For example, paintings by Leon Golub and Ray Yoshida, both subdued and earthy in color, have been placed among three bright paintings with a lot of yellow in them. Thus we get a pattern of A B A B A, the interconnections of which make it impossible to concentrate on any of the paintings individually. □

CLIMBING

Yet another switchback
while the trail drives on higher
Surely this must be a way to heaven:
rock falls to climb
downed trees to clear

From the summit
the river is nothing
but a fraud of strength

Power is here—
with nothing above
but some clouds

Phil Mintz

PERSONALS

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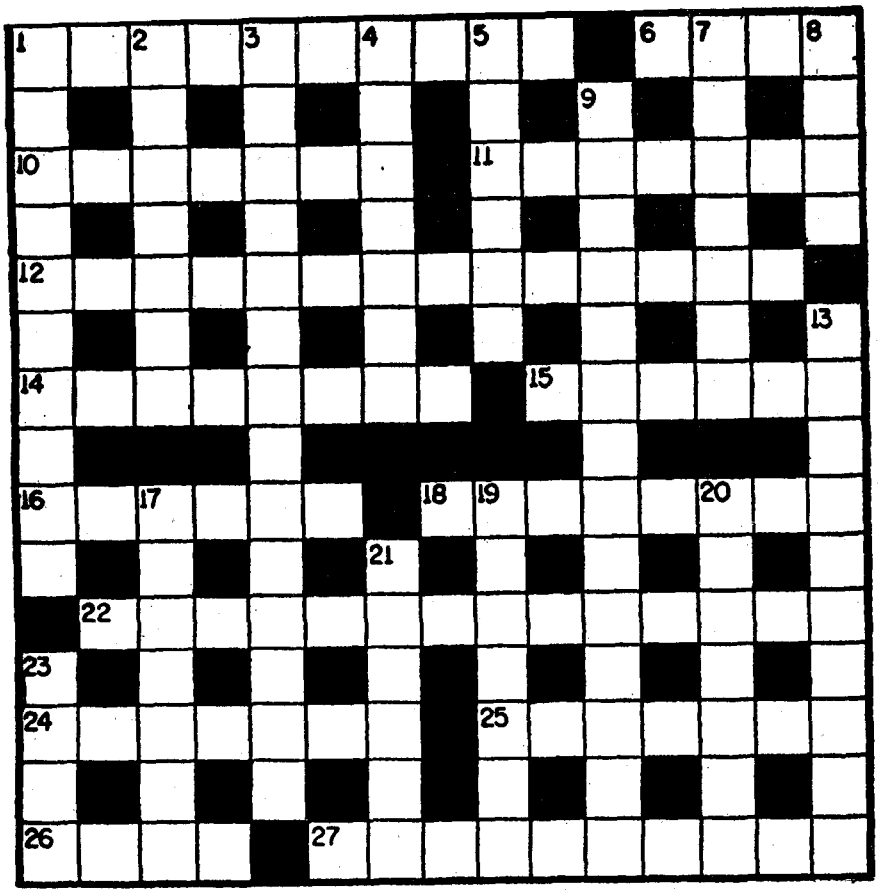
Crossword Puzzle No. 1451

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Very close to a variety of such as a U-boat. (10)
6 Like afterthoughts, these might prove dangerous. (4)
10 You could get older, as one sometimes does after taking a shot. (7)
11 The Pirate's place drops the last letter, as a token punishment. (7)
12 Thinking of the common weal? (6-8)
14 Having only part of a linen rag in general might be infuriating. (8)
15 Such people always confuse the enemy with one. (6)
16 Go thus astray, and you'll get searched for. (6)
18 See, having money doesn't imply credit (4,4)
22 Would it sound equivalent to a proverbially silent obeisance, as a monumental study of religion by Frazer? (3,6,5)
24 Green, yellow and red all may be. (7)
25 If an Irish girl is a little tipsy, where, perhaps, has this? Here? (7)
26 See 23 down.
27 If you stay awake, you're probably not subject to them. (10)

DOWN

1 Afternoon fetes have a small band around, featuring a theatrical take-off. (5,5)
2 Bela, Boris and Peter have to work insistently at first. (7)
3 The old-fashioned square-shooter boasted of it; modern cynics might be doing it differently. (7,3,4)
4 Takes a step in knitting that implies the actors are ready. (5,2)
5 An unseated form of 1 down, showing lively intelligence. (6)
7 Free from duplicity, afterwards concerned with it. (7)
8 Pour forth from the storage place. (4)
9 It's not straightforward to express disapproval of me, when you give me something. (8,6)
13 Brains and veins have them. (10)
17 What one might try to do, if the object is tilting. (7)
19 Exhortation to the tailor to hurry? (5,2)
20 One sort of ale must have them for luck! (7)
21 Those under the spell of 27 might be so eyed. (6)
23 and 26 across A precedent to these might be sharp items of wearing apparel, instead of real dogs! (8)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1450

ACROSS: 1 Telstar; 5 and 1 down Quick on the draw; 9 Enchant; 10 Intense; 11 Reach; 12 Leo; 13 and 15 Repelled; 16 Extends; 18 Freedom; 21 Dreyfus; 24 Aping; 26 and 5 down Don Quixote; 27 Susie; 28 Petunia; 30 Durance; 31 Senator. DOWN: 2 Lactate; 3 Teach; 4 Rattler; 6 and 20 down Intermediate; 7 Kingpin; 8 Needles; 17, 22, 25 and 29 The fastest gun in the West; 18 Flapped; 19 Emitter; 21 Donates; 23 Specter; 27 and 14 Sternwheeler.

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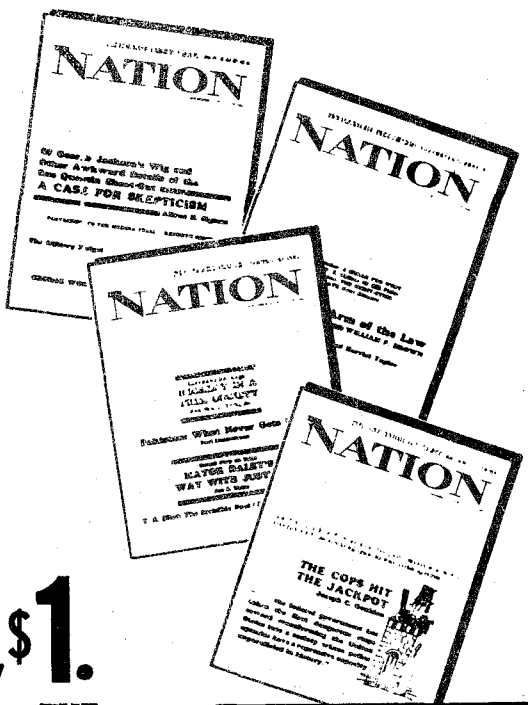

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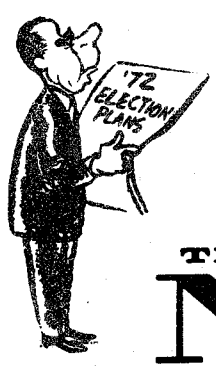

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